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EDITORIAL

THE SLOGAN SHORTAGE

The war fever thermometer in Washington has been rising and falling with dizzying rapidity. Pundits quote daily odds like Vegas bookies, and pollsters take the nation's martial pulse.

President Bush seems to be performing some quiet political meteorology of his own by launching trial balloons explaining What We're Fighting For. In one speech he said that we are over there to protect "our way of life." Then, perhaps wanting a more high-sounding cause, he invoked "a new international order." It was left to a blunt old soldier, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Middle East, to bring the rhetoric down to earth. In a pep talk to the troops he called Iraq's invasion of Kuwait "international rape." Crime on the sheiks?

The White House appears to be suffering from a slogan gap. Compare Bush's lame efforts with past wars that had stirring names ("the war to end all wars"), a noble cause to fight for (make the world safe for democracy, the Four Freedoms) and short, catchy slogans ("Remember Pearl Harbor" and "Don't You Know There's a War On?").

If Bush is not prepared he will find himself with just another generic, no-name war on his hands like the ones in Korea and Vietnam. What he should do is sponsor a Name the War Contest. In an appearance on national television, he could invite Americans to suggest a title for the war, along with inspirational slogans and songs. We have a few entries for him: "Remember the Gas Lines!" "Rollin' Iraq (It's in the Bag, Dad)." "Draw a Line in the Sand Against Saddam and His Band." "Kuwait Can't Wait (to Be Free)." "They've Got the Hostages, but We've Got the B-2s." On second thought, this war won't fly, sloganwise. Better reconsider.

ISRAEL & THE PALESTINIANS
Rashid Khalidi
Rita E. Hauser
Jim Zogby
Edward W. Said
Jerome M. Segal

HOW WORKFARE HURTS KIDS
Laurie Udesky

FREDERICK SEIDEL'S POETRY
Lawrence Joseph

THE AMERICAN HALF-CENTURY
Carolyn Eisenberg

QUEEN VICTORIA REVISITED
Joan Jacobs Brumberg

THE PEACE MOVEMENT NOW—I

COUNTERING BUSH'S GAMBIT IN THE GULF

We have asked several people to comment on the peace movement—specifically, the lessons of the past decade and what should be the movement's strategy and goals in light of the gulf crisis and the "end of the cold war." Other responses will appear in future issues.

ROBERT L. BOROSAGE

The perilous face-off in Saudi Arabia's desert is but a preface to the domestic struggle yet to come over the international role of the United States in the post-cold war era. So far, President Bush has garnered praise from many observers, who see the United Nations operating as it should in response to a threat to the peace. Indeed, collective security, an embargo against aggression and international mediation are all building blocks to a peaceful global system. But for our national security elite, the Middle East crisis is a journey back to the future. As they draw the line in the Saudi sands, they are thinking of Korea. So should we.

After World War II, Americans demanded rapid demobilization of the military. Security managers, as the 1950 planning document N.S.C.-68 details, wanted an expensive standing army to wage a global war against Communism. Truman, the much-scorned successor to Roosevelt, faced a flagging economy and a contentious Congress. Then Communist forces attacked in Korea. The United States took over the U.N.-sanctioned "police action." More (*Continued on p. 306*)

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EXCHANGE.

TWO MORE STEPS

Chicago

In his July 2 article, "Middle East Peace: Nine Steps the U.S. Should Take," Jerome Segal makes a number of proposals for changes in U.S. Middle East policy. It is worth adding two points. The first has to do with the principle of equity, which is absent from U.S. policy, as was evident in the conditions imposed on the P.L.O. for opening a dialogue with Washington (acceptance of U.N. Resolution 242, renunciation of terrorism and acceptance of Israel's right to exist). The Israeli government has never been required to commit itself to implementing 242 as regards occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights, nor to renounce its terrorism, which has taken nearly a thousand Palestinian lives since the *intifada* began (not to speak of the bombing of Lebanon), nor to accept the right of an independent state of Palestine to exist. For the United States to play a constructive role in Middle East peacemaking, it must recognize that two peoples are involved in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and that while symmetry by no means prevails between Israeli occupier and Palestinian victim, the principle of equity must be applied in addressing the conflict between them.

The second point is a tactical one of great importance. In dealing with a ruthless politician such as Yitzhak Shamir, it is necessary to avoid threats, bluffs and empty statements, and to avoid being dragged into endless procedural wrangling. The man who ordered the 1948 murder of U.N. mediator Count Folke Bernadotte and many other terrorist attacks is impervious to such feeble expedients, which have essentially constituted U.S. policy since the Bush Administration began. The United States must collaborate with the U.S.S.R. and the European Community in launching substantive negotiations involving all the parties to the conflict: the P.L.O., the Arab states and Israel. If Shamir refuses such negotiations, based on 242, organized in stages and with all the usual guarantees, interim periods, prenegotiation phases and other frills dear to the hearts of diplomats, he should be made to pay the price. The means—U.S. aid to Israel to the tune of $3.66 billion last year and a likely $3.4 billion this year—are readily at hand. The Bush Administration has wasted much valuable time chasing the chimera of the "Shamir plan," which was put forth only to gain time for more land seizure, settlements and suppression of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories. *Rashid Khalidi*

ISRAEL'S IRON GRIP

New York City

Jerome Segal's prescription for U.S. policy with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict could not have been more apt or timely. The suspension of the U.S.-P.L.O. dialogue, sterile as it was, and the advent of the most extreme, ideologically rigid government in the history of Israel make U.S. leadership all the more urgent.

Segal's nine steps, if adopted in whole or in part, would signal a basic shift in America's approach to the dilemma. He rightly notes that Washington's first step should be the tacit recognition that a Palestinian state is inevitable. The United States need not move toward recognition of this state yet, because it would not meet established international legal criteria for recognition. It would be more than sufficient for the Administration merely to acknowledge that the conflict is one of two competing nationalisms, both with equitable claims to the same land. Only a division of that land, with all necessary security guarantees offered to Israel to counter its fears of a Palestinian state, will provide the key to the required compromise.

I agree with Segal that Washington must come to grips with the fact that the current Israeli government does not intend to relinquish its hold over the West Bank and Gaza and intends, when the circumstances permit, to incorporate those territories into Israel. President Bush or Secretary Baker must make unequivocally clear that such a policy is contrary to American interests, is illegal and, most important, is fundamentally immoral. Current Israeli practices in the territories negate the most basic political rights of the Palestinians and can no longer be accepted. Shamir's failure to accept a dialogue with the Palestinians has torn away any pretense that the current Israeli government desires a settlement of the issue other than on its own terms.

Until Washington says this in so many words, no one in Israel will believe the United States will oppose Israeli policy and no one in the Arab world, especially the Palestinians, will place any credence in U.S. policy. All the rest is detail. *Rita E. Hauser*

FEAR AND LOATHING IN CONGRESS

Washington

Jerome Segal's nine steps are clear and logical. He is not alone in advocating such positions, for they have been widely accepted by peace advocates and progressives. Palestinian self-determination is endorsed even by recent studies issued by the RAND Corporation and the Trilateral Commission. It is a disturbing fact, however, that logic does not create U.S. Middle East policy. Nor does public opinion. Fear does. I do not mean the much-explored, well-understood and perhaps overemphasized Israeli fear. I mean fear in Congress.

There are those who justify blind Congressional support for Israel on geostrategic grounds. That justification may have been plausible in the past. But in the wake of changes in East-West relations, Israel's brutal reaction to the *intifada* and the growing need, felt in both the United States and Europe, for stable and secure relations with the Arab world, that has changed. Instead, what inhibits necessary and desirable changes in U.S. policy today is Congressional opposition to virtually any proposal or policy that attempts to approach the issue evenhandedly. That opposition, in my view, is largely a function of fear and weak-kneed Congressional members who won't buck "the lobby" and its fundraising machinery.

So while it is impossible to disagree with Segal's suggestions, I think they fail to address the critical question of how we get from where we are to where we ought to be. In short, a constructive U.S. policy in the region must first have the support of a Congress that remains beholden to fear and pro-Israel money. Until that changes, proposals such as Segal's will be forgotten as quickly as yesterday's news. *Jim Zogby*

UNDERMINING THE P.L.O.

New York City

I don't agree with Jerome Segal that recent events are as tragic for Israel as for Palestinians: So far as I can tell United States money still pours into Israel, the military occupation of Palestine continues, hundreds of Palestinians are still being killed, wounded, imprisoned. But I do agree with the gist of what he says, that as Israel's paymaster and only ally, the United States should pressure it into decent human behavior and some measure of accountability. Palestinians have done enough in the way of unilateral concessions. Now it's Israel's turn to respond, not in the nonsensical *hasbara* convolutions with which it has entranced its American true believers but in real terms. Giving some of the Israeli aid money to Palestinian projects on the West Bank and Gaza is a good idea.

Segal is wrong to assume that U.S. policy toward the Palestinians and the P.L.O. was merely mistaken in the past and ought to be improved in the present. The U.S. policy in the Middle East is premised on an unswerving hostility to Arab and Palestinian nationalism. Far from "not rewarding" the P.L.O., the United States is dedicated to its marginalization and demise. One should be clear about this, and remember the green light given Ariel Sharon for the invasion of Lebanon, and the consistent policy of undermining the P.L.O. in the U.N. and elsewhere.

I feel we need more analysis and discussion of how the United States should be persuaded to take the nine steps. Here the pro-Israel lobby requires more critical attention from American Jews. There are important divisions among them, but they and the lobby play a unique role in keeping U.S. policy to its present insufficiencies. The main problem, however, is that the broad public discussion

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EDITORIALS.

Docile Democrats

The Democratic Party in Congress serves neither the nation nor itself with its applauding acquiescence in George Bush's Middle East policies. The President told the nation and the world that American forces were in the gulf to prevent an immediate Iraqi attack. He officially informed Congress, however, that hostilities were not imminent. The War Powers Act (and with it, a vestige of Congressional control of foreign policy) has been effectively nullified. Speaker Thomas Foley and majority leader George Mitchell have acted as if the presidential usurpation of power were perfectly normal. House Foreign Affairs Committee chair Dante Fascell has even praised it. His Senate counterpart, Claiborne Pell, raised the issue, but his colleagues barely listened.

The President's aims are erratic, the lengths to which he will go unclear, his larger political conception utterly unarticulated. Most Congressional Democrats have compulsively refrained from raising the questions that already trouble our public and world opinion and that have occasioned a serious conflict within the Administration itself. To be sure, Representatives Lee Hamilton and Ron Dellums have in-

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sisted that there can be no military solution to the Middle East's economic and political problems. What the public hears in Congress, however, are the loud voices of the Israel lobby demanding Saddam Hussein's head. Must our armed forces act as surrogates for an Israeli government that has visited permanent insecurity on its own people by its adamant refusal to make peace with the Arabs?

No senior Democrat, in any case, has directly challenged Senator Richard Lugar. Obviously speaking for an influential group within the Administration, he also demanded Saddam's elimination. Lugar and his allies, however, are supremely indifferent to Israel's fate. Indeed, they supported Iraq against Iran and blocked censure of its use of poison gas against its own people. They envision a permanent American imperium in the Middle East. But now rich Arabs have been mobilized against poor ones and Egypt has been reduced to the status of a client state. Is the United States to embark on permanent intervention in a region rendered structurally unstable by the problems of Palestine and pan-Arabism, Islamic fundamentalism and endemic exploitation and poverty? Of course, a gigantic and perpetual military presence in the Middle East would compensate the arms industry, the imperial bureaucracy and the Pentagon for the outbreak of peace in Europe. But far from insuring a steady flow of cheap oil, it would guarantee continued American economic decline. The Democrats have demanded that other nations help pay for the U.S. expeditionary force. Authentic superpowers, however, do not dispatch Cabinet secretaries around the world as mendicants.

The Democrats have ignored an obvious opportunity to prepare alternative positions—and to reject responsibility for Bush's march to the abyss. James Baker's reappearance after a politically timed vacation is evidence of a deep division within the Administration. The unilateralists want military action no matter what anyone else thinks. Responsive to world opinion (and to strenuous Saudi objections to war on Iraq), Baker now praises international cooperation and a large role for the United Nations. That is what the Democrats should have been saying from the beginning (Pell did). If a new international order is to replace the present *bellum omnium contra omnes*, the U.N. will have to assume a major peacekeeping function. Its economic and social agencies will have to be given the resources to deal with problems the world market cannot master. These are, however, precisely the prescriptions the Republicans have derided and sabotaged for years. "Well done, Mr. Secretary" is hardly a compelling Democratic political platform—the more so as the Secretary is subordinate to a President of no profound inner convictions and of exceedingly uncertain powers of judgment.

The Democrats have failed the major test of a democratic opposition, that of enlarging national debate. The party ought to recall 1965. Must there be another and more terrible Vietnam (or a succession of them, extending early next century to Brazil and Mexico) before this nation learns that in the long run empires are fatal to the imperialists? It would be noble to join an international crusade against a tyrant and for human rights and international decency. That is not what the expedition is about.

The Indonesia File

A recent article by freelance reporter Kathy Kadane deals with the role of the C.I.A. in providing the Indonesian military with the names of members of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) to be hunted down and killed following an abortive coup in 1965. Yet Kadane's disturbing account fails to record other important aspects of the C.I.A.'s role, some of which I alluded to in *The Nation* nine years ago [see McGehee, "Foreign Policy by Forgery," April 11, 1981].

The practice of providing "names lists" for foreign intelligence services and assassination teams, as described by Kadane, has been used in one country after another since the successful operation in Indonesia. In Bolivia in 1975, the C.I.A. gave the government lists of progressive priests and nuns, five of whom were subsequently expelled and one, murdered. To curry the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's favor, the C.I.A. provided the Iranian government with the names of leftists, who were later killed. As *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have reported, the United States for years provided the government of South Africa with intelligence on the African National Congress and in 1962 was the source of the information that led to Nelson Mandela's arrest. The Phoenix program in Vietnam was a massive U.S.-backed project compiling arrest and assassination lists of the Vietcong for action by C.I.A.-created Provincial Reconnaissance Unit death squads. In Thailand C.I.A. cohorts and I compiled lists of hundreds of Communists and passed them to the Thai military. Today U.S.-advised security forces, using the techniques of the Phoenix program, do the same in El Salvador while the C.I.A. assists the Philippine government in its "low-intensity" operations by, among other things, computerizing records and developing a national identity-card system.

Those facts should merit a fresh Congressional investigation of the C.I.A.'s operations. [*Such a probe might also explore the possible role of C.I.A. forgeries in inciting the Indonesian military to move against the P.K.I. in the first place, another point not mentioned by Kadane.—The Editors.*]

Congressional investigations of the C.I.A. in the mid-1970s found that forgery was among the propaganda operations conducted by the agency to accomplish foreign policy goals. The Church committee established that in Chile, for example, the C.I.A. had used forged documents about a Communist plot to incite the 1973 military coup.

After the Indonesian coup attempt, known as Gestapu, which killed six military officers, Major General Suharto rallied the army but generally ignored the P.K.I., as there was little evidence to implicate the Communists. But then, serendipitously, documents were discovered that contained "proof" of P.K.I. involvement.

The captured documents created an atmosphere of hysteria. One newspaper reported that "a large quantity of important documents of the manipulator of Gestapu, P.K.I. . . . have been found. . . . The text of the proclamation speech of Gestapu was obviously printed in [China] . . .

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the P.K.I.-manipulated Gestapu . . . has obviously been assisted by [China]." Suharto seized on the documents to accuse the P.K.I. of masterminding the coup attempt, and he called for its complete "uprooting." On November 2, 1965, the Indonesian Armed Forces Bulletin published a document with alleged P.K.I. directives outlining the party's planned role in the coup and its efforts to take control of the military. This marked the beginning of an extermination campaign in which up to a million Indonesians died.

RALPH MCGEHEE

Ralph McGehee worked for the C.I.A. from 1952 to 1977. He has written a book about his experiences and has compiled a computer database on worldwide C.I.A. operations.

Martha Dodd Stern

When Martha Dodd Stern died in Prague last month, the headline of the *New York Times* obituary labeled her "an accused Soviet spy," failing to note that all charges against her had been dropped in 1979. In death, as in life, Martha Stern will be best remembered for her indictment on unproven espionage charges.

The daughter of William Dodd, Franklin Roosevelt's Ambassador to Nazi Germany in the 1930s, Martha married Alfred Stern, a former chair of New York's Citizens Housing and Planning Council. The Sterns were active in left-wing causes during the war and into the 1950s, working with the American Labor Party in New York, supporting Henry Wallace for President and contributing to popular front causes, which eventually brought them to the attention of Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist investigations. Fearful of being subpoenaed by McCarthy's committee, the Sterns moved to Mexico in 1953. Four years later they were indicted in absentia for espionage—accused of conspiring to pass military, commercial and political information to the Soviet Union. Their accuser was Boris Morros, a flamboyant, Russian-born music producer, confidence man and F.B.I. counterspy whose credibility was questioned at the time by journalists. If convicted, the Sterns could have received the death penalty.

The Sterns renounced their American citizenship and fled to Prague with their adopted son, Robert, to avoid deportation. Visitors reported that the couple became increasingly lonely and suffered terribly when their son was diagnosed to be schizophrenic. In 1979 the government dropped the espionage charges for lack of evidence, and the Sterns considered a visit to the United States. They never came. One reason was that they feared the government would hit them with a large bill for back taxes.

After Alfred's death in 1986, Martha lived on in a country whose language she had never learned. Correspondence had become her lifeline, and in 1984 we began exchanging letters. But Martha never mentioned the espionage charges. "I couldn't bear to talk about my life to anyone now," she wrote in 1986. "It is too painful. We've both had tragic experiences which predominate over the happy or productive ones."

Last July I went to Prague to finally meet Martha Stern. When we spoke before the visit, she sounded eager to see me, but when I arrived at her home, Martha said she was too ill to talk. She died three weeks later at the age of 82.

As with so many cold war espionage cases, the Sterns' involves more questions than answers. What led Martha and her husband to flee the United States and spend the rest of their lives in exile? Did they fear they would not receive a fair trial amid the anticommunist hysteria of the era? Were the charges of espionage true? When the indictment was dismissed, the Sterns said their case was "a frame-up from beginning to end." The government never revealed the evidence for its allegations.

Setting the record straight in the Stern and other cold war cases is not, as many people charge, an exercise in political nostalgia. If nothing else, people of my generation, born after the McCarthy frenzy had passed, have a right and an obligation to judge for themselves how the American political and legal process worked during that time and the extent to which it was or was not abused for ideological reasons. For this, the United States needs its own historical *glasnost*. It's not so easy. Four years ago *The Nation* submitted a Freedom of Information Act request for Alfred Stern's file. We have yet to receive a single document from the F.B.I.

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

★

TRUE LOVE

The newest research shows
(So says the Times, *in Section C)*
That birds and bees and beasts
Are more promiscuous than we.

The birds we always thought
Were faithful till the day they died
Are almost sure to have
A little something on the side.

The California mouse
So far's the only thing they've found
That's married, you might say:
This mouse just doesn't play around.

Yes, California mice
Have just one lifelong love to give.
It's odd they stay so true,
Especially living where they live.

Calvin Trillin

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

The Heart of the Beast

After some maladroit preliminary lunges, Iraqi propagandists are showing more of a feel for the American pulse with the charge that George Bush has a personal interest in driving up the price of oil. Iraq's Information and Culture Minister, Latif Nasif al-Jasim, told U.S. reporters that Baghdad had got hold of "secret documents" showing Bush to be a partner "in oil companies with Saudi Arabia and maybe Kuwait." The "maybe" is a pleasing touch, suggesting scholarly determination not to overstep the mark in assessing the evidence for presidential malfeasance.

Most Americans are temperamentally disposed to believe that Big Oil is behind the whole thing, giving the nod to Saddam to take over Kuwait and thus, without much delay, double oil prices. It is also probable that oil stocks are a constituent of Bush's portfolio, and though this portfolio is held in a blind trust, the President could trundle about the Kennebunkport golf course secure in the thought that in all likelihood his net worth was increasing handsomely. Bush is sensitive to profiteering charges. After the Exxon Valdez spill he transferred his partnership in an oil barge business into a qualified blind trust, according to *Common Cause Magazine*. And this would not be the first time he has been accused of using public office to advance oil interests. In the 1970s there were charges that during his stint as Ambassador to China he had helped Texas cronies seeking oil concessions in the South China Sea.

The Northeast, where President Bush took his tormented vacation, is an oil-importing region, and the colder the weather while the blockade continues, the more the tempers of consumers will frazzle. The oil-producing states—mainly Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana—are not nearly so dismayed, since they stand to take in several billion in extra revenue. For Bush, with a holiday home in Maine but an official residence and stock portfolio anchored in Texas, the Lord is certainly giving more than He's taking away.

The Iraqis will no doubt be getting into all these matters in forthcoming propaganda communiqués. The closer they stick to the subject of oil company profits the more they will endear themselves to blue-collar America, which even in these sedated times still holds certain things to be self-evident, starting with the innate criminality of the Seven Sisters. Scholars in al-Jasim's ministry can remind Americans of another crisis, the Suez invasion of 1956, in whose wake the Justice Department filed criminal antitrust charges against twenty-nine oil companies for collusion in raising prices. But Eisenhower was almost as cozy with Big Oil as Bush, and it was not long before the case was shifted from Virginia to Oklahoma, where Federal Judge Royce Savage dismissed the charges, subsequently leaving the bench for a new career as a vice president with Gulf Oil.

Pat, Rowley, Bob and Jeane

The populist sensibility that very reasonably sees oil companies as taproots of evil is also decently isolationist by instinct. The Iraqi Ambassador in Washington has undoubtedly been reporting to Baghdad that conspicuous opposition to President Bush's immense deployment has come from the Republican right, specifically from Pat Buchanan, Evans and Novak, and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Of course it would be absurd to call Buchanan and the others isolationist. Buchanan has spent most of his life writing speeches and columns urging war, and Evans, Novak and Kirkpatrick have similarly been choristers for the blood-dimmed tide. With the Soviet Union out of the picture Buchanan may feel that no emir's gold-plated tap is worth American lives unless U.S. national security is threatened, which it plainly is not. Having regularly thundered against the deportation of Nazi war criminals to the Soviet Union, he may also not find the Saddam-as-Hitler taunts as alluring as some. Evans and Novak have for years been highly unusual among U.S. syndicated columnists, attacking the government for narrow-minded concern with Israeli interests and with the Jewish lobby, to the detriment of wider U.S. interests in the Middle East and other things dear to the pundit mind.

Oddest of all voyagers in this caravansary is Kirkpatrick, who in origin is a charter member of cold war liberalism, regnant creed of postwar imperial adventure. Perhaps her lecture fees have been falling and she calculates that a bit of heterodoxy will pump up her appeal. (I refer here to her intellectual appeal. Physically, those flattened, Medusa-like facial contours, flared nostrils and death-ray eyes are maddening as always. *Semper fi*, Jeane my love.)

War or Peace?

Thus far, Bush's strategy has been popular, as is any exhibition of military resolve by the Commander in Chief in its early stages. But this support, however brawny the President's standing in the polls may look now, is not something his strategists can take for granted. Two sectors of opinion are already oppressive factors in their calculations. A *Wall Street Journal* poll showed that only 41 percent of black Americans see wisdom in Bush's deployment. If war breaks out, blacks will do most of the fighting on the ground, and for many of them war was declared long ago, on them, at the start of the 1980s when Reagan came to power.

The other major sector of discontent is Wall Street. By Thursday, August 23, something close to panic had set in. The plunge in world markets, plus the soaring costs of military deployment, plus the prospect that war could put oil over $50 a barrel weighed heavily on men paid millions to worry about such things.

By the weekend the atmosphere changed markedly. The cautiously worded U.N. resolution approving collective action to enforce sanctions was hailed as a diplomatic triumph that lessened the need for a go-it-alone U.S. military initiative. On Monday, August 27, William Safire, former colleague of Buchanan on Nixon's speech-writing team and most brazen of the war pundits, lamented in *The New York Times* that "longtime doves of the left, joined by anti-Israelites of the far right—plus sober second thinkers who want to give paci-

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

fism a chance—have combined forces to try to stop the worldwide momentum aimed at driving Saddam Hussein from power."

Unlike the Israeli government, which has been told by the Bush regime to keep its mouth shut and has been placated by the promise of a billion dollars' worth of arms, lobbyists for the Israeli interest such as Safire and former *Times* editor A.M. Rosenthal have been almost incoherent in their calls for an immediate strike against Baghdad.

The official editorial posture of the *Times* is less vulgar but essentially the same: the U.S./U.N. mission will not be accomplished until Saddam has agreed to have his chemical and putative nuclear weapons factories demolished under international inspection. What neither Israel nor many of its supporters in the United States care to envisage is (a) Saddam extant after the crisis, and (b) a post-crisis conference on territorial disputes in the region as called for by Iraq as a prerequisite for its withdrawal from Kuwait. Such a gathering is something Israel has been strenuously avoiding for more than twenty years.

The Fight for the Fall Ratings

Absent military conflict, the fighting is being done by the networks, CNN and others, all battling for market share. There was a particularly entrancing skirmish on *Nightline* on August 28, with the assembled punters including Senator Trent Lott and, representing the spectrum of opinion stretching from Senator Moynihan to the *Workers' Vanguard*, Fred Barnes of *The New Republic*.

The assumptions here were comical. Deploring "celebrity journalism" (the rapid forward deployment of Messrs. Koppel and Rather), Jonathan Alter of *Newsweek* complained that these grandees were no substitute for "the lesser-known person who's on the ground there day in and day out, and who can tell you what's going on in the region with a real sense of personal experience and context." Who can Alter be talking about? Send out the search parties.

Then Roone Arledge, president of *ABC News*, volunteered that he agreed with Senator Lott about the impropriety of "running live, unedited Saddam Hussein propaganda photo opportunities." Presumably this means that Iraqi footage more adroit than Saddam asking little Stuart if he's had his cornflakes—truly an awesome moment in the iconography of beastliness—will get chopped up in the ABC newsroom.

Not discussed on that edition of *Nightline* was the degree to which the U.S. corporate media have been handmaidens of White House policy in the crisis. Take the matter of Iraq's peace proposals. Saddam's initial negotiating posture—discussions about withdrawal from Kuwait within the context of territorial issues in the region, such as Israel's illegal occupations—was mostly mentioned glancingly as indicative of the unserious nature of Iraqi diplomacy. On August 29, Knut Royce reported in *Newsday* that Iraq had sent another proposal to the White House via "a former high-ranking U.S. official" (probably someone like former Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East Richard Murphy). The offer set withdrawal from Kuwait and permission for foreigners to leave against the lifting of U.N. sanctions, guaranteed Iraqi access to the gulf and sole control of the Rumailah oil field, which lies under the Iraq-Kuwait border, with its bulk beneath Iraqi soil. The day after Royce's story appeared the White House acknowledged receipt of the offer, adding that "there was nothing in this particular proposal that merited its pursuit."

Of Human Bondage

Reporters such as Molly Moore of *The Washington Post* are remitting frank dispatches from Saudi Arabia about the fearful toll on high-tech equipment wrought by sand and sun. Knowledgeable fellows tell me the M-1 tank was never tested in nose-to-tail deployment through sand; high-speed fighter planes are of little use against tanks, as are the hand-guided TOW antitank missiles in close engagements. The Stealths and B-52s are wildly inaccurate and would probably end up hitting the four Shiite holy places in Iraq at Karbala, Najaf, Kadhimain and Samarra. Injure one of those shrines with even a little bomb and, according to Wilfrid Madelung, Laudian Professor of Arabic Studies at Oxford, "it would quite likely be a catastrophic development," like strafing St. Peter's or the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Some parlor strategists think that the innately secular Saddam is quite capable of bombing the holy places himself and then blaming the West, thus uniting Shiites everywhere, including Iran. It's the sort of stratagem a villain in one of the Bond movies would nurture, and so Saddam may well seize on it. He clearly models his strategy after Bond's old enemy SPECTRE, just as Qaddafi bases his deportment on memories of Rudolph Valentino's *The Sheikh*, which he watched in Tripoli as a boy. Bond villains loved to say, "No, no, Meester Bond, you are not a prisoner. Shall we call you our . . . guest." Fans of *Never Say Never Again*, in which Connery glumly played out his contract, will recall that the villain planned to detonate a nuclear device under the Kuwaiti oilfields, thus sending the price rocketing upward. Saddam is playing his role as Oriental villain to the hilt and plainly enjoying every minute of it.

The real iconic clash is between Saddam and Thatcher. Last week she scored well with the charge that he hides behind women's skirts. The Iraqi press struck back at her "canine, harsh voice," calling her "a circus buffoon who is dancing on American ropes . . . vomiting poison like a spotted serpent." Bush isn't up to this sort of stichomythia.

Very Cruel, Most Unusual

Jim Bakker and Lyndon LaRouche are sharing the same cell in the federal pen in Rochester, Minnesota, Fred Gardner reports in the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*. Given Bakker's preferences and LaRouche's gay-baiting down the years, this is an intriguing cohabitation. My sympathies are with Jim. Imagine being locked in a room with LaRouche for years on end.

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ War Profiteering

Back in June, before Saddam Hussein was even a glint in the eyes of depressed military contractors, entrepreneur Max Franklin, a former analyst for I.B.M., placed an ad in *Defense News*, a trade weekly. "The Arsenal of Democracy Won the Cold War," the copy read. "Can It Win the Drug War?" To find out, readers were invited to attend a three-day conference featuring officials from the Pentagon, Congress and government agencies who would detail "Industry Opportunities" arising from the $10.6 billion antidrug budget. "Can you afford to miss it?" Franklin's ad asked.

About 200 representatives of aerospace and computer companies decided they could not—not even at the cost of $950 a person. What's good for William Bennett might be good for G.E., which sent eight officials to the July affair. Managers from A.T.&T., Boeing, Israel Aircraft Industries International, Lockheed, Grumman, Rockwell, Unisys, Apple Computer and dozens of other firms flocked to Franklin's conference, where some speakers predicted that the war on drugs might expand into a $75 billion annual program—almost enough to make a military contractor drool.

Conferees and lecturers spent much time discussing the military's growing role in drug policy. Judging from a few presentations, some Pentagon officials perceive the counternarcotics mission as an integrated part of (or perhaps cover for) counterinsurgency in the Third World. Lieut. Col. Joe Rogish, a Marine specialist in low-intensity conflict, made a speech titled "U.S. Marine Corps Advanced Concepts for Drug Interdiction," in which his definition of the enemy shifted effortlessly from traffickers to insurgents back to traffickers.

Rogish had a few tips on how his audience could make some bucks—mostly by inventing a device that could detect narcotics in cargo. Eighty percent of illicit drugs enter the United States in cargo containers, and there is little the government can do to stop this without bringing shipping to a halt. "We're looking," he announced, "for a mechanical drug dog." Capt. Samuel Dennis of the Coast Guard, seconding the call, complained that his crews cannot use drug-detecting canines. Whenever they tried to do so, the animals became seasick.

■ The Few, the Obnoxious

Among the more dramatic performances was that of F. Andy Messing Jr., the excitable executive director of the National Defense Council Foundation. Messing's small think tank recently published a paper that slammed the Bush Administration for not prosecuting the war on drugs with enough vigor and mettle. Messing's study recommended that the United States prepare to conduct "unilateral drug actions" abroad. He complained that the government hasn't launched a full-force eradication campaign, which he thinks should be a top priority—even if that requires sending U.S. forces into another country without the consent of its government. But a U.S. military official who had served in Latin America objected, saying, "I found zero appetite on the part of Latinos for sending in U.S. forces." That irritated Messing, who replied:

> There's a point where the U.S. has to look at its own ability to govern its own sovereignty. . . . When someone says that to me, I sort of say, Who are you? Are you one of those Latinos that has a kind of problem, an ego problem? Or are you an American? . . . That may sound tactless. But in three to five years when Americans say the same thing, you won't remember my name, but you'll remember I was obnoxious enough to say it first.

■ Can't We Use Saliva Instead?

Maj. Timothy Capron, who formerly supervised a Marine drug and alcohol rehabilitation center, identified drug testing and prisons as other areas of "excellent opportunity" for businesses. The problem with current drug testing technology is that someone has to watch the subject urinate. The development of a new, more dignified form of scrutiny could boost sales. Capron also heralded the financial potential of building jails and providing security, waste management and food services for prisons. Marketing drug rehabilitation programs, he added, could be quite profitable as well. But Capron failed to mention that the Bush Administration opposes a measure in the anticrime bill pending in Congress that would require the Bureau of Prisons to offer substance-abuse help to all "treatable" inmates in federal penitentiaries. The Justice Department argues that this provision eliminates the "consensual aspect of substance abuse programs"—that is, it forces convicts (whose rights the Administration cares so much about) to engage in treatment. The bill does no such thing. Jailhouse rehab is simply not a priority for the Justice Department—and not yet a source for lucrative federal contracts.

Now with the military buildup in the Persian Gulf, arms contractors may not have to worry about squeezing dollars out of the antidrug budget. Still, Franklin's drug summit, much like the drug budget, was designed for the wrong players. Those who need more access to the billions are professionals from the fields of health, education, housing and economic development. They could use funds not for see-'em-at-night, catch-'em-in-the-jungle equipment but for programs that address the reasons some Americans abuse drugs and alcohol. That would confront the problem at the real source, the demand at home.

■ I'm Outta Here

Washington—if one can withstand its dreadful marshy climate—is a pleasant place in August. That's when the charlatans of Capitol Hill and the mandarins of the executive branch clear out. Now that they're back, it's time for me to take a break. While Congress goes through those silly exercises that pass for campaigns, Bush fights to seat the Invisible Man on the Supreme Court, the S&L bill mounts ("paging Neil Bush") and sabers rattle or even clash, I will be on a brief sabbatical. But keep those tips and leads coming. This column resumes with the December 10 issue.

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How Was I Supposed to Know?

EDWARD SOREL

1945 RESIDENTS OF BUCHENWALD ARE SHOCKED TO LEARN THAT EXTERMINATION CAMPS EXISTED.
1972 NIXON IS SHOCKED TO LEARN WHITE HOUSE STAFFERS WERE INVOLVED IN WATERGATE.
1986 REAGAN IS SHOCKED TO LEARN THAT STAFF MEMBERS SOLD ARMS TO IRAN.
1990 BUSH IS SHOCKED TO LEARN THE NICE MAN HE SOLD ARMS TO HAS INVADED KUWAIT AND MAY NOT BE ENTIRELY SANE.

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ARTICLES.

HOW WORKFARE HURTS KIDS

Welfare Reform And Its Victims

LAURIE UDESKY

Clara was 10 years old when a group of older boys chased her for four blocks shouting that they were going to kill her. Terrified, she fled to the East Harlem Family Center, the homeless shelter where she lived in New York City, hoping to find comfort from her mother. Shelter employees, however, could not reach Clara's mother by phone. She was cleaning floors and toilets in an office building, a workfare job that was part of the city's requirement for parents receiving funding from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.). Clara's young mother, Carmen Motta, says that after the incident her daughter began having nightmares. "She be seeing things on the wall, she be seeing people chasing her."

Motta fears for Clara and her other children walking alone in the dangerous South Bronx neighborhood where the family now lives. But she has little reason to believe that the city's welfare officials will help her protect them. Shortly after Clara was chased, her mother recalls, a social worker was concerned enough to write a letter to welfare officials advising them that Motta's schedule should be changed so she could pick her daughter up from school, but to no avail. "They say if you don't come [to work], we're going to close your case," says Motta. She stopped the cleaning job nonetheless, and for almost four months received no money or food stamps. "Think about it," she says, "they're your kids. They have to go to school without eating."

Motta was able to get food rations from the shelter and found work for a couple of hours a day, but she was still unable to afford the basic items she needed to get by. "It wasn't only food. If you can't buy soap powder and you send your kids to school with dirty clothes, the Bureau of Child Welfare will be on your back and try to take them away," Motta declares, smacking the table for emphasis.

The welfare-to-work program that penalized Motta is among the burgeoning state welfare reform programs that require A.F.D.C. recipients to work for their welfare checks. In New York City, for example, 30 percent of families on A.F.D.C. in the mandatory welfare-to-work programs have been "sanctioned," according to internal documents from the city's Human Resources Administration (H.R.A.). Sanctioning, in the euphemistic jargon of welfare, means that the families lose all or part of their assistance check. In 1987, according to a little-publicized report from Statewide Youth Advocacy Inc., 5,000 of 8,000 families sanctioned in a six-month period lost all their cash benefits. The report attacks the "massive abuse" of the sanctioning process, noting that 98 percent of the contested sanctions were reversed or withdrawn on appeal. Although H.R.A. has ended its policy of terminating entire families' benefits, a follow-up report by the youth advocacy group states that New York City's 30 percent sanction rate is one of the highest in the country.

The Family Support Act (F.S.A.) of 1988 requires all states to implement workfare programs, but, as in New York City, what is billed as reform may actually be hurting the majority of people on welfare: children. The new federal guidelines are modeled on workfare programs in several states, among them New York, Wisconsin and California. In those programs, A.F.D.C. recipients with children age 6 and older are required to work or get job training or education in exchange for child care payments, schoolbooks and transportation. The F.S.A. goes even further: Parents whose youngest child is at least 3 years old can be required to participate or lose part of the money they receive to pay for rent and to feed and clothe their children.

Countless parents on welfare welcome the opportunity to work or receive job training, and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, one of the F.S.A.'s chief architects, argues that it will lead to permanent employment and end the cycle of dependency among welfare families. Whatever lawmakers intended, however, a close look at existing workfare programs shows that many "workfare children" have already been put in danger and have even experienced hunger and homelessness by states' hasty attempts at reform.

These reform programs have been rushed into law with almost no infrastructure or long-range planning—that is, without sufficient child care, without job development and without the kind of training that would allow participants to find work that pays enough to support a family. Moreover, despite the states' much-touted promises of individual attention to workfare recipients, welfare reform programs often treat participants with indifference and sometimes callousness. A letter from New York City's welfare department to recipients, for example, warns that the family grant could be reduced "for 3 or 6 months" if they miss an appointment, training or work assignment without a "valid" excuse. But welfare bureaucrats' definition of a valid excuse is hard to fathom. On a day that Carmen Motta was supposed to show up for an appointment for New York City's workfare program, she learned that her sister had been murdered in the subway. When Motta called her caseworker to cancel, she was told she still had to bring a written excuse to the welfare office across town that day—or have her check reduced.

Many families in New York are punished for what they view as a valid excuse for refusing a work assignment: fear for their children's safety. In the Bronx, Maria Cruz (not her

Laurie Udesky is an associate of the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco. Her reports have been carried by Pacifica Radio and National Public Radio. *This article was made possible in part by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism in Washington, D.C.; research assistance was provided by Lolita and Herbert Friedlen.*

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real name), an energetic woman who hopes to learn computer skills, was sanctioned for turning down a work assignment after welfare officials refused to recognize the special needs of her children, who suffer from severe asthma. Cruz's children attend a school whose policy requires her to take them to the hospital if they have an attack, but there was no telephone in the abandoned building the welfare department sent her to clean. "I feared for their lives," she says, explaining why she risked being sanctioned. "If an ambulance doesn't get there on time, my child could die." An H.R.A. internal document offers one reason why such basic concerns may not be taken seriously. It advises caseworkers not to allow exemptions for "the numerous difficulties that are often associated with poverty," such as "general worries about children."

Indeed, New York's welfare department is hardly equipped to meet even the most basic child care needs of A.F.D.C. families, as Tony Ward, of Child Care Inc., a referral agency, points out. "There was a period . . . of three weeks last fall," he says, "when we tested by having people call [the H.R.A.'s main line for processing child care requests] every fifteen minutes, and found that their line was busy almost continuously for three weeks in September, which is the beginning of the school year." Even if a parent miraculously manages to get through, he adds, the city can provide subsidized child care slots to only one out of five children who need them.

Nevertheless, as New York and other cities around the nation prepare to expand existing welfare-to-work programs to meet the requirements of the Family Support Act, they cannot expect a cent of federal money to develop new child care for the expanding pool of workfare recipients they are required to serve. The F.S.A. bars the use of any federal matching grants for the development of new child care, according to the Federal Register. Nor is any money earmarked for the development of child care as a part of the federal workfare program in the Act for Better Child Care, a comprehensive child care bill recently passed by Congress that is expected to go to President Bush this fall.

Some states have been able to set aside money to develop subsidized child care slots for workfare parents. But the Children's Defense Fund expects that as caseloads increase with expansion of workfare programs there will be far too little subsidized child care to go around. In Minnesota, for example, low-income working parents are already losing subsidized child care slots to workfare participants. Most ominously, the F.S.A. allows states to force parents of children as young as 1 to participate, even though the United States has very little day care—at any price—for children that young.

To understand how thoroughly the workfare program can undermine its own goals, a look at the situation in Wisconsin is useful. With the closing or scaling down of several breweries, a Chrysler plant and the Cudahy meatpacking operation, it is one of the states most in need of jobs and job programs, particularly for African-Americans. Instead of preparing welfare recipients for good jobs, however, the state's draconian workfare program has made it harder for some recipients to compete for the few jobs there are. Among those who feel cheated by the program is Melissa (not her real name), a teenage parent who lives in a small Wisconsin town. When Melissa's mother hurt her back and could no longer baby-sit for her daughter's two girls, Melissa told her caseworker she would have to quit school half a credit short of a high school diploma. For dropping out, her monthly grant was reduced from $248 to $142. Through a hearing, she was able to prove that she had not been told by her caseworker of her right to paid child care and was awarded her money back, albeit six months later.

Melissa had been enrolled in Wisconsin's Learnfare program, a version of workfare for teenagers and the brainchild of Governor Tommy Thompson, who campaigned strenuously in 1986 on ending welfare dependency. The program, which was implemented in 1988 to help teenagers stay in school, puts the burden of a welfare family's livelihood on those between the ages of 13 and 19, including teenage parents: If a poor teenager has more than two unexcused absences from school a month after ten absences in the previous semester, the family's monthly check is reduced by

ILLUSTRATIONS BY DAVID SHANNON

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as much as $120 for each truant teenager in the family. To many observers, this arrangement gives teenagers far too much power over their family's income. "You can't hold no child's hand no twenty-four hours," says one dejected Milwaukee mother, unable to pay rent after being sanctioned when her troubled teenage son skipped school.

Statewide, an average of 2,210 teenagers are sanctioned and their families' checks reduced each month, and 1,669 of those are in Milwaukee County, where the problem is most severe. As in New York City, many of the sanctions that poor families experience are wrongfully imposed; one teenage mother had her check reduced because she was not in school—although school was not in session at the time. Seventy-five percent of sanctioned Milwaukee teenagers represented by Legal Action of Wisconsin, a legal services corporation, win their cases on appeal or the county voluntarily withdraws the sanctions, says Patricia DeLessio, an attorney with the group. Recently, DeLessio won a preliminary injunction halting Learnfare in Milwaukee until shortcomings in the sanctioning process are corrected.

Under mandatory workfare, poor families are punished for being poor.

Officials of Wisconsin's Department of Health and Social Services (D.H.S.S.) maintain that the program has a good track record, that 70.9 percent of teenagers sanctioned in Milwaukee County go back to school, as do nearly 72 percent statewide. Because of such statistics, Learnfare was chosen by the Ford Foundation and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University as a semifinalist for their Innovations in State and Local Government Awards Program. But a recent report from the University of Wisconsin casts serious doubts on the state's claims of success. Overall, the state-commissioned report says, only 28 percent of dependent teenagers and teenage parents in Milwaukee County were regularly attending school two months after their last sanction. Instead of helping kids get back in school, critics say, the Learnfare program merely punishes them by reducing their family's grant, forcing parents and children to suffer.

The Dover family (not their real name), which lives in rural western Wisconsin, is one such example. Because the Dover teenagers often have had to miss school to care for their disabled parents, they were sanctioned; unable to pay rent as a result, the family was evicted by the sheriff more than a year ago. They packed up what few belongings they could fit into their car and have slept there or in homeless shelters since.

Other poor teenagers in Wisconsin have also missed school because they feel stigmatized, especially if their family grant has been cut and they are visibly poor. Among them is 17-year-old Natasha Dilworth, who shares a small home with her mother, four siblings, her grandparents and several cousins in a poor Milwaukee neighborhood. In the family's modest living room, she proudly displays an impressive blue, white and black jacket she designed and sewed. She shifts uneasily in her chair as she explains how difficult it is to find store-bought clothes because of her large size. It's also hard to scrape together money for fabric; because of this Natasha often must attend school in shabby, ill-fitting clothes. At these times, she feels a scalding shame that makes her reluctant to go to school. Natasha's mother, unable to work as a result of several disabling operations, says her daughter had to leave her job at a clothing store because she came home late at night, too exhausted to do her homework. "Sometimes when I wake up in the morning," says Natasha, "things can get so frustrating that I sit on the bed and I cry. And then I think: suicide."

Many of Wisconsin's welfare officials are unmoved by such tales. "Children—teenagers—need to see that there's a consequence to their behavior. They need to become responsible for their actions, and that's really what the sanction does," says Silvia Jackson, administrator of the D.H.S.S.'s Division of Economic Support. Moreover, she adds, "the majority of [families] are not being made homeless by it." But counseling services for troubled teenagers are sorely lacking. According to a report released by the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 20 percent of the teenagers sanctioned were in families identified as having possible or documented problems of abuse or neglect, problems of which the state was well aware before the implementation of Learnfare. Yet the state made little effort to provide counseling for those teenagers before they were sanctioned. The state is so pleased with Learnfare, in fact, that officials are hoping to expand the program to include attendance monitoring of children down to the age of 6.

The model for welfare reform is California, where the sanctioning rate of workfare participants is relatively low. However, the program is in disarray. Many workfare mothers are not in any training or education program, and many others are not getting the transportation, training-related expenses or paid child care they were promised, according to a report by Casey McKeever of the Western Center on Law and Poverty. Statewide, only 20 percent of single-parent participants have used paid child care. Moreover, California is getting $95 million less than it needs to run a fully funded program. At the same time, federal programs that help the poor, such as the Women, Infants and Children program, which provides food supplements to poor mothers and children, are being cut to help reduce the deficit.

In the 1990s, as more and more people join the welfare rolls as a result of plant closures, disabling injuries, lack of skills or education, and escalating child care costs, lawmakers should be looking at ways to reform the economy—through job development and affordable child care and health care. Instead, under mandatory workfare, poor families are punished for being poor. Natasha recalls the day when Governor Thompson came to her school and invited any student who made at least a 3.0 grade average to his mansion for dinner. "I just thought," she says, her

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NO BODY BAGS FOR OIL

U.S. TROOPS ARE NOT THERE TO PROMOTE PEACE

When Iraq invaded Iran, the U.S. stood by. Later we actually gave Iraq help.

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eyebrows knitted, "if you take him out of his nice suit and take his briefcase and put him on a fixed income, then he'd see what I was talking about." □

Bush's Gambit

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

important, the security managers used the crisis to gain bipartisan support for the cold war mobilization. Military spending revived the economy and never returned to prewar levels. In fact, the commitment of U.S. troops to Korea was small change compared with the costs of cold war mobilization.

It's déjà vu all over again. The Iraqi aggression opens the public to a classic bait and switch. The bait is international sanctions against an aggressor that merit universal support. The switch is using the crisis to set up permanent bases in the Persian Gulf—long a goal of U.S. security planners—and to redirect the military, as foreshadowed in the 1988 official report, "Discriminate Deterrence," away from the "central front" of the cold war in Europe and toward the policing of "instability" throughout the Third World. President Bush made it explicit when he addressed the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Baltimore: The "lesson" of the gulf crisis is that "future American defense capacity must be even more a lean, mean fighting machine." The cold war is dead; long live the global gendarme of law and order (and cheap oil).

It will not be easy to stop this crisis-driven transformation, but the stakes are too high for peace activists and progressives simply to wave goodbye to the peace dividend and repair to the simpler pleasure of bashing conservatives for the savings and loan rip-off. The lessons drawn from the Iraqi crisis will do much to define U.S. priorities over the next decade or more.

The Bush Administration has already begun to use the crisis for its political ends. The coming recession will be blamed on Saddam Hussein. Energy companies will seek escape from environmental limits on offshore and wilderness production. And whether or not war comes, the crisis in the gulf will be used to justify a permanent presence there and will give renewed life to military budgets. Bush has already begun that campaign, telling the Veterans of Foreign Wars, "I will oppose the defense budget slashers who are out of tune with what America needs to keep freedom secure and safe." The crisis in the gulf, the President said, justifies not only more minesweepers and mobile battalions but "giving the military the tools to do its job—the peacemaker [the MX missile on rails], the Midget man, the B-2 [the Stealth bomber, at $860 million a plane], and the Strategic Defense Initiative." The Administration is playing for high stakes—not simply the defeat of Saddam and a permanent presence in the gulf but a new consensus on the United States as a global policeman with the military spending necessary to play the role.

Robert L. Borosage is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

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Even with a successful war in the gulf, however, the President may find a new security consensus much more difficult to sustain than the cold warriors did in the 1950s. Americans share little of their leaders' imperial appetite. Beneath popular acclaim for "splendid little wars" like the invasions of Panama and Grenada lies a deep antipathy to foreign intervention—what security managers decry as the "Vietnam syndrome." The President's popularity has soared as Americans rally to the flag in the crisis, but doubts have already begun to show. Despite the nearly universal news media and Congressional support for the President's policy, surveys show significant portions of the citizenry—40 percent according to a *New York Times* poll—are already critical of the President's dispatch of military forces; only 48 percent think the President has tried hard enough to reach a diplomatic solution. Public opposition will grow with the new era of Arab nationalism and violent upheaval that will attend even the defeat of Saddam. The President has declared an end to the Vietnam syndrome, but his words are likely to be as effective as Canute's in rolling back the tides.

Moreover, progressives can win the debate over the real security interests of the United States. The public is far from convinced that military intervention is a sensible energy policy. A line in the sand will not deter global warming. The cost of the gulf crisis—already running at $45 million a day—could help convince Americans that "our way of life" depends not on cheap oil and desert bases but on conservation and alternative energy sources.

Similarly, while Korea and the cold war proved vital to America's post-World War II economic expansion, bloated military budgets now stand in the way of economic renewal. With no peace dividend, the public investment in education, infrastructure and research and development that even corporate leaders deem vital to the economy will not take place. Ironically, as the flight from the dollar suggests, the Persian Gulf commitment is a massive subsidy of our economic competitors. Reborn conservative isolationists will not be alone in objecting to the United States paying more than $50 billion a year for "gulf contingencies" to insure the access of Europe and Japan to almost 60 percent of all Middle East oil at discount prices.

International sanctions against aggression are a far stretch from the commitment of U.S. forces to defend the stability of feudal sheikdoms. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's suggestion of an Arab force to replace U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia deserves far more attention than it has received. Bush's definition of our real security interests—in the gulf and in the world generally—must be challenged on campuses, in churches and in Congress. Members of Congress whose only concern is that the Japanese pick up the bill need to realize that more than the deficit is at risk in the Saudi desert.

At present, opposition to the Administration's policy in the gulf has little institutional support outside the peace community. Peace groups have to take the lead, against the tide of popular opinion. Jim Driscoll, of Operation Real Security, reports that 200 local actions have already taken place in more than a hundred communities across

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the country. The tempo of teach-ins at community meetings must be accelerated this autumn.

At the same time, the ongoing campaign for sharp reductions in military spending cannot be abandoned. In the short term, the President is likely to have his way; few politicians will want a pitched battle over military budget requests in the midst of a crisis. The Administration's plan to cut the armed forces by 25 percent and the military budget by 10 percent over a five-year period seeks to capture the middle ground. But the President's attempt to use the gulf crisis to justify a new generation of nuclear weapons, a continued commitment to NATO and a massive new investment in global intervention is an outrageous shell game. The United States can maintain the strongest military in the world and still save $500 billion or more from the President's budget projections for the decade. There is a peace dividend at the end of the cold war, but the President wants to spend it on the military. This is a debate that all progressives must join.

The campaign to reduce military spending—unlike the peace movement's critique of the Iraqi crisis—should seek to enlist mainstream institutions, including organized labor, the religious community, the full range of civil rights and social justice groups, state and local public officials, professionals and business leaders. Mainstream opinion is likely to endorse the President's policy in the gulf, but can still be rallied in support of an overdue change in U.S. priorities.

The debate about priorities must be built over the next year in teach-ins, local resolutions, town meetings and mobilizations. This year, any cuts in military spending by Congress are likely to result more from the imperatives of the purse than from the entreaties of the public, but a large campaign could gain popular momentum in 1991 as the costs of the gulf intervention (and the coming recession) become clear. And mobilization in 1991 could help set the tone for the presidential campaign of 1992.

Can the 1992 campaign be turned into a debate about the direction of the country—at home and abroad—after the cold war? American political debate is so trivial that it hardly seems likely. But with the end of the cold war coinciding with the exhaustion of the conservative agenda, the 1992 election could be different, particularly if progressives and activists do not marginalize themselves.

Understandably suspicious of electoral politics, activists tend to adopt one of three options in election years: "Organizers" often ignore the campaign season as an irrelevant distraction from real work. "Realists" swallow their politics and throw in with the best liberal "able to win." "Idealists" launch third-party efforts. But all three courses limit the influence of progressives. Ignoring the electoral season deprives progressive candidates of the energy of community organizers, which is vital in counteracting the financial edge that more conservative candidates will always enjoy. Realists contribute to the victory of neutered candidates like Dukakis and Mondale, accepting the inane assumption of the punditry that a progressive message can't appeal to the majority of the electorate.

Third-party efforts are noble but doomed to obscurity. When the primary season begins and the major party contenders enjoy free media attention and matching federal funds, third-party candidates are sentenced to collecting petitions and watching the debates on TV with the rest of the public. With the weakening of party structures, there is no reason why a progressive coalition organized inside and outside the Democratic Party could not gain a majority position within the party. As Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower says, we ought to build an opposition party before we organize a third one.

If the 1988 Jackson campaign showed nothing else, it proved that a populist message has broad appeal and that the primaries can provide a rare opportunity to put an argument about the direction of the country to millions of voters. Today even conservatives in the Democratic Party adopt portions of the Jackson message for popular consumption. In 1992, progressives should insure that at least one candidate—a Jackson, a Nader, a Schroeder, a Dellums—competes in the Democratic primaries with a message that challenges the basic assumptions of the Bush Administration and calls for real security priorities, fair taxes and a reinvestment in America.

With Iowa and New Hampshire holding early primaries, progressives can play a significant role in the selection process. In Iowa—as peace activists proved in 1988—a mobilized constituency can insist that candidates address fundamental questions. That Al Gore had to withdraw from the Iowa campaign was a testament to the strength of peace organizing there. In 1992 money and media will still play a disproportionate role in the primaries. But a rainbow coalition of minorities, feminists, gays and lesbians, environmental and peace activists, and progressive labor, if mobilized and unified, could play a major role in determin-

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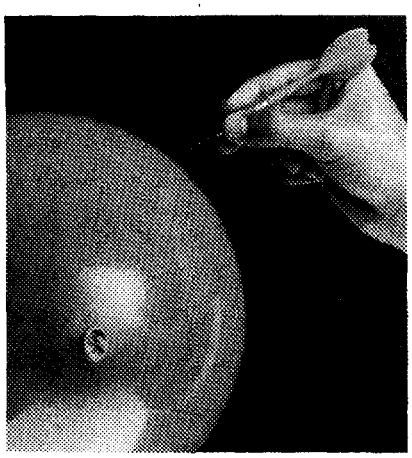

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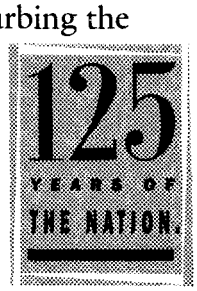

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ing who gets the Democratic nomination. Surely 1988 illustrated that such efforts, even when not successful, can help change the climate of opinion within which the Administration and Congress operate.

Perhaps Americans are so addicted to cheap oil and imperial adventure that bipartisan support for the President's agenda cannot be broken. Certainly, the current Democratic Congress won't stand in the way. But there is a populist temper in the land that has less and less patience for making sacrifices to enrich the well to do. As American lives are committed to defend the stability of wealthy monarchies abroad, while unemployment and poverty spread at home, the country might just be ready for a new direction. What progressives must insure is that the public knows there is a choice. □

The Right Way To Go Is Left

LENNI BRENNER

Now that the United States is "defending" absolute monarchy in Saudi Arabia and American lives are at risk, popular anxiety is already greater than it was at the highest point of the U.S. proxy wars in Central America. This time we can beat Washington. But if the peace movement is to develop a viable strategy on the Middle East, we must first analyze how the movement defeated itself on Nicaragua. March for peace and vote for war, and you get war. If you marched for the Sandinistas and voted for Lloyd Bentsen (who supported lethal *contra* aid), for the party of humanitarian *contra* aid, for the party that subsidized UNO, you could never beat Reagan or Bush. And an UNO victory was inevitable.

Other errors flowed from that fatal premise. As long as you thought peace could come via electing "good" liberals, protest coalitions constantly collapsed, especially before elections. If you allowed demonstrations to be platforms for liberals hustling votes, you could not demand unilateral disarmament, which is unacceptable to their imperialist party. The P word—Palestine—was not in your lexicon. And if you wanted a movement safe for Democratic hacks, you structured it top-down so leftists couldn't convince the ranks to raise such issues.

History shows what went wrong. It was primarily Indochinese resistance that forced the United States out of Southeast Asia. But our rulers also faced "grunts" killing their officers, a student general strike and black riots. Attorney General John Mitchell said he saw the Russian Revolution as 500,000 demonstrators marched past the White House.

Lenni Brenner is the author of Zionism in the Age of the Dictators *(Lawrence Hill) and* The Lesser Evil: The Democratic Party *(Lyle Stuart).*

Fear of a deepening revolt at home was crucial to capitalist acceptance of defeat. But in reality most protesters were liberal Democrats. United States weapons slew 300,000 Indochinese after American troops left but that couldn't keep people in the streets. Mass demos began again only in 1980, when 30,000 denounced draft registration. A review of the major actions since then is telling:

§ The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan prompted President Carter to renew draft registration, yet the Mobilization Against the Draft backed Carter's line against the Soviet Union. A pro-Carter coalition could never fight him, so it evaporated.

§ The People's Antiwar Mobilization built a demo of 100,000 on El Salvador in 1981 but most other activists couldn't work with PAM, which they saw as a group of domineering fist clenchers and arm wavers. It retreated to the fringes of the Democratic Party.

§ The June 12, 1982, Disarmament Rally Coalition split before the million-strong demo. On one side, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and friends called for negotiations to top off the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. The National Black United Front and allies, who opposed intervention in the Third World, argued that a freeze would not stop a conventional arms buildup (which most Congressional freezers favored). The factions marched together but then the Freeze fled the streets. Without that million behind them, they got a miserable nonbinding Congressional resolution for their efforts.

§ A 1985 April Actions Coalition put 125,000 in Washington and San Francisco (with smaller numbers in other cities) against war in Central America and U.S. collusion with apartheid. The local A.F.L.-C.I.O. backed the rally in San Francisco, but only if an F.M.L.N. speaker wasn't identified as such and if the coalition kept silent about U.S. patronage of Israel, which armed South Africa. The A.A.C. fell apart because many in it put higher priority on arms reduction than on nonintervention. That meant getting more Democrats elected in 1986. Hence no action was called for Washington that year.

§ Elements in the New York Central Labor Council and their Democratic friends put on a 100,000-strong antiapartheid protest in 1986. There were no major antiapartheid rallies after that, as liberals feared black nationalists would use such occasions to denounce Israel.

§ The National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador—twenty International presidents but no rank and filers—plus a bevy of religious organizations, with solidarity groups strictly as junior partners, sponsored Central America demos of 150,000 in April 1987. The laborites vetoed Washington speaking invitations to the F.M.L.N. union and the Sandinistas. Top A.F.L.-C.I.O. bureaucrats, the C.I.A.'s henchmen, denounced the demos. With no stomach for fighting its colleagues, the N.L.C. abandoned the streets.

§ In June 1988, 60,000 marched in New York City for disarmament. Afterward most coalition members electioneered for Dukakis, and the coalition folded.

§ Commemorations of the slaying of El Salvador's Arch-

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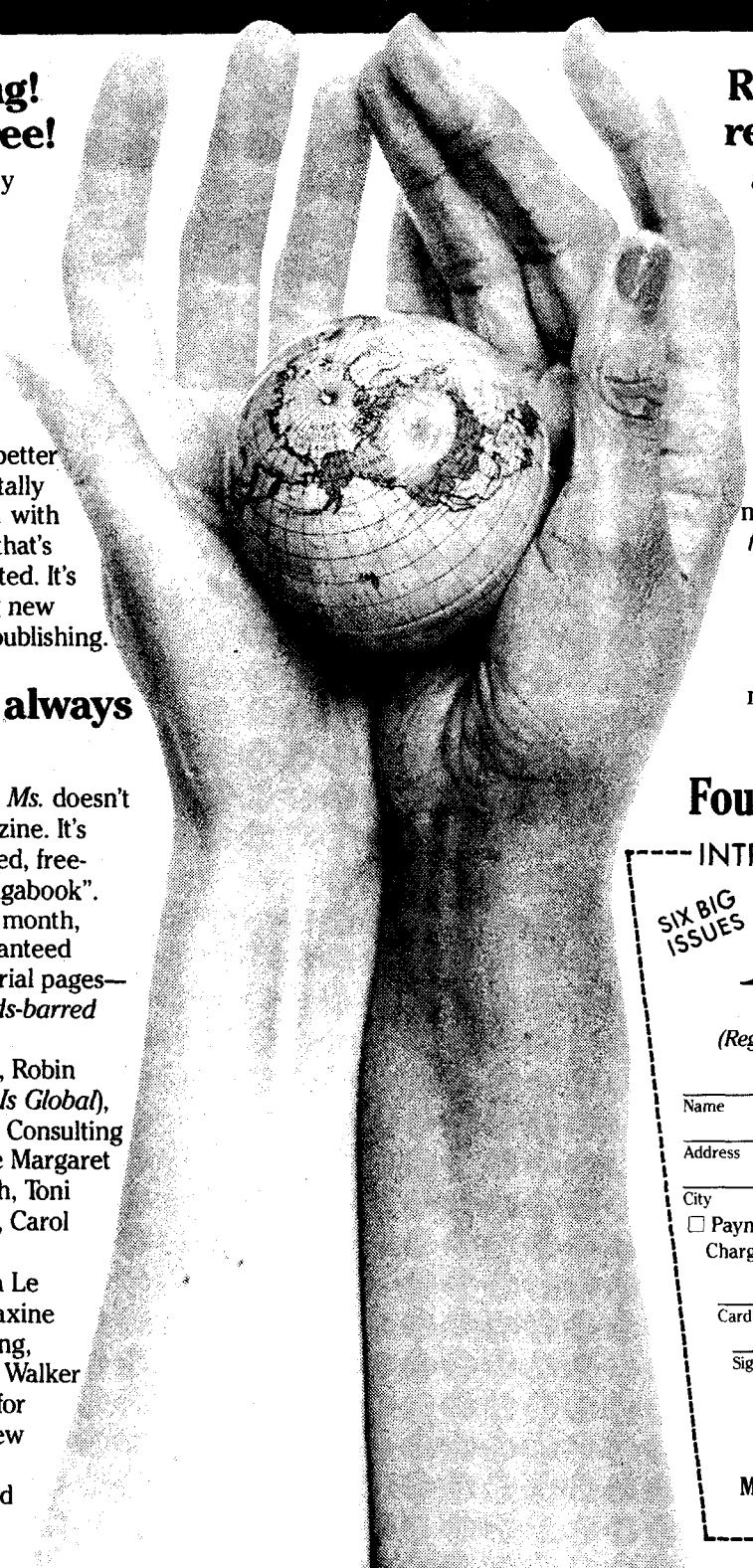

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bishop Romero were held on March 24, 1990. The coalition, initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, excluded left parties from its steering committee, hoping this would make the action more appealing to labor and the religious. Only 25,000 people showed up. In fact, leftists did much of the organizing. Labor participation was minimal. "Faith-based" groups did not turn out numbers from their huge denominations.

This saga of failed coalitions must be seen in tandem with the positions taken by most activists. Peaceniks overwhelmingly backed Jesse Jackson, hoping he would bring blacks and workers into the fight against intervention. He didn't. Moreover, his right turn was demoralizing. In 1984 he called for a 20 percent military budget cut. He toured with an F.M.L.N. guerrilla. He was pro-P.L.O. He dropped the budget cut in 1988. Ditto the guerrilla. He said he wouldn't meet Arafat again. He backed off a convention vote on his Palestine plank. Then he hustled votes for Dukakis, who campaigned in a tank, and for Bentsen the *contra*.

Clinging to Jackson as he veered right, most of the peace movement was psychologically primed to go along when the Democratic leadership cooked up "humanitarian" *contra* aid. SANE, the Jesuit Social Ministries and the Friends Committee on National Legislation backed it. The Pledge of Resistance and the Nicaraguan Network tactically avoided denouncing liberals who voted for it if those liberals continued to oppose lethal aid.

These episodes contain important lessons. First, good peace generals must put themselves in the minds of their enemies. Peaceniks don't grasp that politicians ask one question of all: If we don't give the beggars what they want, what will they do to hurt us? Dukakis knew he didn't have to give a thing to a peace movement that would vote for him and a *contra* Democrat as the lesser evil.

The same goes for Bush. He knows his party can't win every election. But the Democrats have become the lightning rod of capitalism's bipartisan hustle. Wall Street knows a Democratic victory means things will go on pretty much as usual, hence Bush can risk being beaten. The only thing imperialists dread is another "Russian Revolution," going beyond two-party legitimacy.

Imperialism will persist until a mass movement of typical workers refuses to pay for it. But how do we lay the foundations for this? We must learn from the military. They start with cadre, from general staff down to sergeants, before they recruit the foot soldiers. Our cadre must be primarily from those 25,000 who came out on March 24. We must start from the certainty that as Washington acts only to protect the interests of the rich, we must oppose its entire military budget, all bases and military "aid" abroad. Such a front can't be a coalition of groups with varying commitment. We need an organization of individuals. It has to have frequent conventions, with preconvention debate. Its executive must be a working body, not a paper listing to show how "broad" we are.

For specific actions we should form coalitions with existing peace groups, labor leaders and politicians. But success requires that we not rely on them. Indeed, either we will compel them to move or we will win over those of their followers who want action by making it clear that we will demonstrate with or without them. Even when some bureaucrats did back demos, they rarely built ongoing peace committees in their unions. So when they dropped out, the various coalitions had no way to reach their ranks. Developing permanent rank-and-file union committees, no matter how small at first, is crucial to becoming a stable movement.

The organization must be open to all opposed to intervention. But history teaches that abolitionism needed a Republican Party. Likewise with anti-imperialism. Because U.S. intervention is inseparable from capitalism, this new party must be a socialist party. It would include present socialist groups that aren't sects, plus ex-Jacksonites who see Jesse as a demagogue who was never interested in a Rainbow Coalition controlled by the rank and file.

Such a party would link peace with other popular concerns. Now David Dinkins goes to Congress to plead for money for our cities. They thank him and offer nothing. Our mayors will continue to get nothing until they organize

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demonstrations demanding some of the fabled peace dividend for the cities. But being Democrats, they will never do that unless they fear serious left opponents at the next election. Of course, mass demonstrations alone are not enough, but in modern times they are the visible component of any strategy for social change. By presenting a strategy for getting what people want, which the Democrats don't do, a left party will build the peace movement and grow.

But wouldn't left candidates help G.O.P. warmakers? That is crackpot realism. Dukakis pledged to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. If elected, would he have ever recognized the P.L.O.? Now the Democrats, with Jackson in the van, support Bush's Saudi adventure.

Until our own party supersedes them, peaceniks will need the support of Congressional liberals on issues. The principled way to get it is by negative reinforcement, by threatening to expose them if they vote wrong. We can never vote *for* them on one issue, because they will betray us on another. Barney Frank may be good on Central America, but he rejects Bob Dole's 5 percent cut to the five major foreign aid recipients. He is for aid to Israel and also to Egypt, a torture regime; to the Philippines, where Aquino is trying to crush a popular revolt; to Turkey, which suppresses its Kurds; and to Pakistan, a pit stop for C.I.A. convoys to the Afghan Islamic fundamentalists (and male chauvinists).

Yes, we would take votes from these characters. That would help Republicans, but only electorally. Congressional Democrats put up no resistance to Bush worthy of the name. A left threat might force some of them to look alive. Nevertheless, a left party can't be just a gadfly. The Democrats aren't *the* enemy as long as Bush is President. But they are *an* enemy. Liberals swim oceans of snot to get bucks from Zionists, who give the Democratic Party almost half its national funds. That the party depends on pro-Zionist Jews obviously explains its Middle East stance. But most Jews don't give penny one to any party. Those funds come primarily from only a small number of real estate sharks and municipal bond brokers. That is the point, not that they are Jews. Parties represent classes. A real estate moguls' party can never defend the interests of the propertyless majority.

Stalinism has made socialism unpopular. But if socialism means public ownership *and* elected workplace managers, that would put the onus of fighting democracy back on the capitalists. Obviously there are other problems in starting a revolutionary party; however, nothing justifies voting for a murder party.

Liberals denounce Democrats year round. Then, like mice jumping on a sinking ship, they vote Democrat on Election Day. Now *The Nation* calls for a Middle East arms embargo. But who thinks the Democrats will cut all "aid" to Israel and the Saudis? *The Nation* should instead sponsor a Middle East teach-in. The movement's recent defeat flowed from an unwillingness to think through the relationship between ends and means. "Always with the oppressed. Never with the oppressor!" Thus the great proverb. If we come together and learn together in that spirit, we will devise winning strategies for acting together. □

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THESE DAYS: New Poems. *By Frederick Seidel. Knopf. 50 pp. $18.95. Paper $9.95.*

From the outset—his first book, *Final Solutions*, was published in 1963, when he was only 27—Frederick Seidel's strong aesthetic sensibility has clashed with his complex and expansive sense of the world around him. Robert Lowell, never one for exaggerated praise, wrote for the jacket of *Final Solutions* that he suspected "the possibilities of modern poetry have been changed." No doubt Lowell was struck by Seidel's intensely dense, eloquently stylized explorations of a mix of subjects never before brought to the foreground of American poetry: the politics of the American empire, moneyed and unmoneyed class, Judaism in the Diaspora, racial oppression and violence. Seidel combined a classical historian's eye for the details of human behavior with a sophisticate's poetics.

Knopf has now brought out Seidel's *Poems: 1959–1979*. The handsomely printed collection includes most of *Final Solutions* and all of Seidel's second book, *Sunrise*, which received a Lamont award and the National Book Critics Circle Award in 1980. *Poems: 1959–1979* accompanies the publication of Seidel's third book, *These Days*. It would seem to be an opportune time to reassess Seidel's striking work, but the two volumes seem to have dropped into a critical oubliette. Why?

For all the power and allure of its subject matter, Seidel's poetry isn't easy. It can put off readers accustomed to poems that fit within the confines of recognizable critical modes. Style counts for Seidel. In the tradition of "difficult modernism," he challenges his reader to learn how to read him. Not every poem presents the challenge, but eventually the reader has to wonder what Seidel is doing—which is precisely what the poet wants. A confronted reader may not care for the provocation; Seidel's variety and complexity may prove too much. Another reader may discard the poems that he or she finds critically disagreeable, staying with those that appear less troublesome. (This, by the way, is how another difficult modernist, Wallace Stevens, is frequently read.) Yet other readers, myself among them, may find the style compelling. Its strengths are in its tensions. You feel you've entered a territory of language that borders on pure poetry, yet is never released from its moral, social and cultural boundaries. Seidel's aestheticism never turns absolute.

Every Seidel poem presents arresting, often unanswerable, interpretive issues.

His effects can be shocking, allusive and bizarre, as in one of his early poems, "A Negro Judge." The character is described with an almost brutal eye: "Backed up love kills/The loving eye with its quills./Once, his nerves would have stood and stared, prongs on a mace,/His meatless Jansenist hooked face . . . " What's this all about? There's the hyped-up conceit: nerves, standing and staring, compared to prongs on a mace. (I had to look up what "mace" means; two of the *Oxford Universal Dictionary*'s meanings apply: "a heavy staff or club, either all of metal or metal-headed, often spiked; formerly a weapon of war" or "a staff of office resembling this, borne by certain officials.") A black judge in the early 1960s—there weren't many back then—his nerves, at one time, standing and staring like prongs on a weapon of war or a staff of office resembling it, with a face meatless, Jansenist and hooked? What does all this mean? Is Seidel being ironic? Sardonic? Is the judge intended as a symbol? If so, a symbol of what? One suggested answer, two quatrains later, is that the judge has been laid to physical and moral waste by "the lean law" of a "law-hagged America" that "dreams on, with disgust, of a hairy,/Plenary,/Incessant lust,/A God-like black penis, a white buttocks-sized bust." (What would Jesse Helms make of this?) In the poem's final stanzas, there are further tours de force:

> From the Judge's seat, a world of
> widow's peaks!
> Where the dying defendant shrieks,
> "Your Honor, I believe! Help thou
> mine unbelief!"
> And slavers with hate and grief.
>
> Plaintiff is awarded the Judge.
> Passerine,
> Perched on branch and vine,
> Plaintiff spreads its smallish wings—
> Brownish white, whitish brown—
> and sings.

The poem's meanings expand—switching diction to "Help thou mine unbelief!" by itself shifts meaning. The "plaintiff"? In a criminal case, the plaintiff is the state. In this case, the state, "passerine" (the dictionary again: "of or belonging to the Passeres . . . of about the size of a sparrow, as the Passerine Parrot"), receives, as a judgment in its favor, the judge (in a criminal case, judgment for the state means the defendant is guilty, and subject to incarceration). The result? The American state analogically reduced to a tiny "brownish white, whitish brown" chirping passerine?

Remember: This is one poem, from Seidel's first book, quoted out of context. Every Seidel poem presents arresting, often unanswerable, interpretive issues. If you stay with the poems you begin to work out a critical method—methods, actually—of reading them; applying the methods becomes part of the reading experience. The complexity can slow you down. But it fascinates and pleases, too. So does the way Seidel creates multiple meanings, multiple ways of perceiving. Perhaps most appealing is Seidel's expansive sensibility: the fact, for example, that he employs the precise meanings of words like "Jansenist" and "plaintiff"; the fact that he attempts to portray, in intricately formed quatrains riddled with conceits, the moral effects of a segregated American society on a black judge.

"A Negro Judge" is the fourth poem in *Final Solutions*; it is informed by "Wanting to Live in Harlem," the book's opening poem. "Wanting to Live in Harlem" presents its issues differently. The poem's structure and language obviously suggest poems from Lowell's *Life*

Lawrence Joseph, whose two books of poems are Curriculum Vitae *and* Shouting at No One *(both University of Pittsburgh Press), is a professor at St. John's University School of Law.*

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Studies. However, its expressions cut against Lowell's poetry. The "I" in the poem does not speak with Lowell's authority; in fact, it doesn't speak with authority at all. The speaker is patently confused: Jewish, from an upper-class St. Louis background, he recalls that as an adolescent his hero, "once I'd read about him,/Was the Emperor Hadrian; my villain, Bar Kochba,/The Jew Hadrian had crushed out at Jerusalem." While his mother is dying, while he sexually fantasizes about a servant, "the young light-skinned colored girl we had then," the speaker sees

> . . . a world of mirrored darkness!
> Agonized, elated
> Again years later, I would see it with
> my naked
> Eye—see Harlem: doped up and
> heartless,
> Loved up by heroin, running out of
> veins
> And out of money and out of arms to
> hold it . . .

Having left St. Louis, having "given up being Jewish,/To be at Harvard just another Greek nose," "almost unarmored," he "wanted to live in Harlem." The poem's realities—racial consciousness, identity confusion, sexual fantasies, the psychic mirroring of upper and lower classes—reform its Lowell-like dimensions. The poem adopts a style from Lowell and, through its substance, revises it. The self is metaphorized, encoded: We get hints, suggestions, of a personality, a personal history, but these are subsumed by the poem's aesthetic interplays, its confrontations with social taboos—race, sex, class, violence—that are picked up again not only in "A Negro Judge" but throughout the book.

Seidel's poetry, in other words, embodies the modernist conflict between a strong, stylized aesthetic sensibility that tends to split off into the poet's subjective reality, and the external realities around the poet that inevitably counterattack that sensibility. The poems in *Sunrise* pick this conflict up with a vengeance. The first poem, "1968," demarcates a time of race riots, war, assassinations; its place is a Robert Kennedy for President fundraiser in Bel Air. The persons attending are "fifty or so of the original" fundraisers—that is to say, a fraction of the Democratic Party's side of America's moneyed power. "The host, a rock superstar, has/A huge cake of opium,/Which he refers to as 'King Kong' . . ." The poem's speaker is invisible; what we get are facts, scenes. The invisibility of the speaker creates an appearance of neutrality, but we learn a lot about the speaker from what he chooses to see. What we witness is a world of upper-class politics, sex and power, depicted through a series of image-layered stanzas. The voice appears removed from it all but is, in fact, enmeshed: He is the one who sees, at the party's end, "A stranger, and wearing a suit," who "Has to be John the Baptist,/At least, come/To say someone else is coming"—which makes the poet who—Isaiah?

For the first time I know of in American poetry, the reader is a firsthand witness to an insider's world of partisan politics. We're told the poet's politics directly: Robert Kennedy is eulogized as "the only politician I have loved." "Never again," the poet says in "The New Frontier," "to wake up in the blond/Hush and gauze of that Hyannis sunrise./ Bliss was it/In that dawn to be alive/With our Kool as breakfast, Make-do pioneers." But politics, for an aesthetic mind, is no easy matter. As Walter Benjamin perceived, fascism aestheticizes politics, communism politicizes art. Seidel doesn't want to do either. He admits he "could

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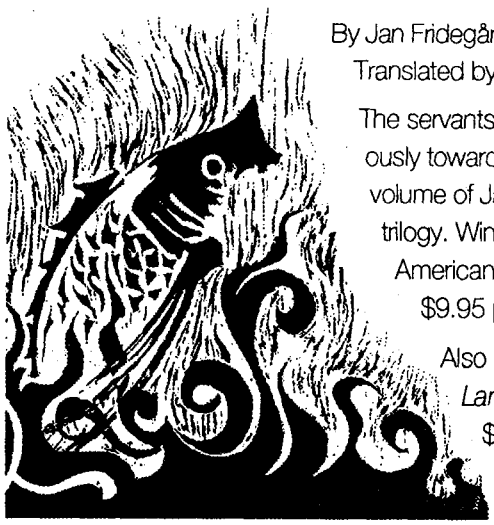

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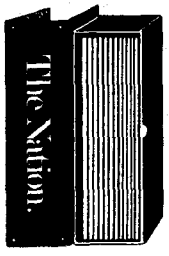

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love politics for its mind"—a pathos-ridden daydream. But Robert Kennedy, "Shy, compassionate and fierce/Like a figure out of Yeats," reminds him "*You're dreaming*," says "*The gun is mightier than the word*." Kennedy, the politician, pays for his politics with his life; Seidel, the poet, through the mighty word, pays for his politics with his sensibility, with his dreams.

The propulsion toward the aesthetic during a time of brutal social insensitivity makes *Sunrise* quite a book. "Think fast! (Still dreaming?)" the poet says in "Fever": This could be the book's epigraph. The speaker of the poems, when he appears, almost floats through existence, a poetic medium compelled by "This need to look!" But, at the same time, life is always there, comprehensively on the attack. In the foreground the reader is shown, from different moods and angles, a world of scenes: "Caneton à la presse at the. . . . Café Chauveron," the making of a film ("Antonioni walks in the desert shooting/*Zabriskie Point*"), the Finnish Grand Prix at Imatra, Eurotrash millionaires. In the background, "Harlem is still—/Harlem is near. The galaxies,/The brainstorms of zero, gasp the fainter/And fainter last breaths of the future." And, both in the background and foreground, are women, and a Woman, idealized, as unattainable as Montale's Clizia. The tensions are formally expressed by placing different sensations and perceptions on top of one another; syntax resembles the logic and illogic of consciousness. The effects are kinetic, loaded, sometimes requiring second, third, fourth readings. Meanings are more allusive and elusive than in *Final Solutions*: The ante's been upped. Seidel refuses to accept entirely either the world of the aesthete or the world of the politician; each poem expresses a part of the tension, probing one way or the other. In the title poem "Sunrise," the speaker immerses himself in images, ideas and facts bent and compressed within forty roughly metrical, intricately rhymed, nine-lined stanzas. The poem creates a mesmerizing effect—political and personal histories are mixed with, for example, the language of quantum physics—but there's no complete way to describe what the poem means, except perhaps to say that, stanza by stanza, it "thinks fast (still dreaming?)" toward a complex awakening at its end. Clearly, Seidel is venting his aesthetic side, elevating the language itself to a primary meaning. Although the language of the poem doesn't eliminate other modes of meaning, it engulfs them into the style. It's very hard to read the poem all the way through, in part because its synchronousness demands so much attention. "Sunrise" moves well beyond any of the poems in *Final Solutions*, into that part of the avant-garde where style predominates.

These Days continues to explore, to develop and evolve, the fundamental issues and motifs of *Final Solutions* and *Sunrise*. It is an enormously powerful book. In some of the poems, Seidel's detached tones are more acrid, critical and ominously prescient than anything he's ever done: His rhetorical, impersonal, didactic side comes on strong. There are "the CIA boys" in "Our Gods" with "EYES/ONLY clearance and profiles like arrowheads":

> They were never home, even when they were there.
> Public servants in secret are not servants,
> Either. They were our gods working all night
> To make Achilles' beard fall out and prop up
> The House of Priam, who by just pointing sent
> A shark fin gliding down a corridor,
> Almost transparent, like a water-mark.

There are conceits as taunting as that which concludes "Empire": "Rank as the odor in urine/Of asparagus from the night before,/This is empire waking drunk, and remembering in the dark."

A profound, resonant tenderness—still detached, but almost religiously reposed—informs other poems, in particular "Flame" and "The Blue-Eyed Doe." Although the images remembered in the first stanza of "Flame" are "like waking from a fever," the poet wakens to darkness purer than that of any of the poems in *Sunrise*:

> And then the moon steps from the cypresses and
> A wave of feeling breaks, phosphorescent—
> Moonlight, a wave hushing on a beach.
> In the dark, a flame goes out. And then
> The afterimage of a flame goes out.

"The Blue-Eyed Doe" is a middle-aged child's lullaby-like elegy to his mother. "They'll shave her head for the lobotomy,/They'll cut her brain, they'll kill her at the source," the poet says, concluding with an unabashed aesthetic and moral response:

> The son who lifts his sword above Art Hill;

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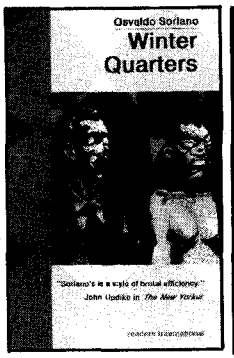

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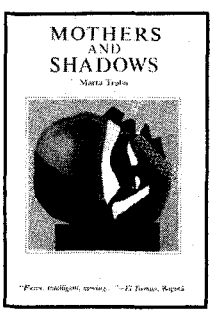

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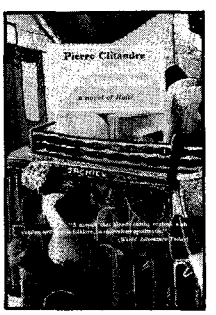

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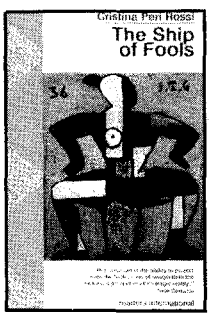

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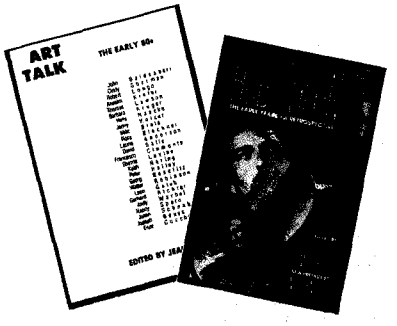

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Who holds it almost like a dagger but
In blessing, handle up, and not to kill;
Who holds it by the blade that cannot
cut.

There are also poems in *These Days* (the last five, beginning with "AIDS Days," in particular) that push Seidel's aesthetic toward a strangely conceived, emotionally, socially, religiously bound Dadaism. Releasing meanings through constructed images of earlier themes, Seidel reveals submerged realms. Wildly fractured, sometimes bordering on the nonsensical, the poems never lack ironic or moral sting. In one of them, "Gethsemane," the poet postures himself against "the crowd," adopting the ludicrous role of the last prophet, a Jesus abandoned by man, woman and God, priapically mad, sweating not blood but words. "The Last Poem in the Book" reminds the reader that Seidel has never left the ultimate world of the poem. Not surprisingly, it provides no closure: "I'm coming now./I can't breathe./I'm coming now to the conclusion that/Without a God. I'm coming now to the conclusion."

My conclusion? In American poetry today there is no one with Frederick Seidel's sheer ambition, comprehensive sense of our times, sophistication, nerve and skill. His postwar American-empire style isn't always easy, but life within the postwar American empire hasn't always been easy, either. His unique embodiment of clashes between social and poetic truths makes him one of the most vital and important poets we have, wielding poems almost like daggers, but in blessing. □

Behind the Cold War

CAROLYN EISENBERG

AMERICA'S HALF-CENTURY: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War. *By Thomas J. McCormick. Johns Hopkins University Press. 273 pp. $38.50. Paper $11.95.*

The collapse of Soviet power and the associated transformation of international politics seem to deal a body blow to the revisionist scholarship that has questioned the orthodox verities about the cold war. As citizens in the Eastern bloc embrace the free market, Soviet leaders renounce their former militarism and the Bush team proclaims an era of peace, some favorite American clichés have gained a new lease on life. Nearly buried in a Vietnamese grave, they are now marvelously resurrected: Thus, socialism was a Stalinist construct imposed on unhappy people, the U.S.S.R. was an aggressive state committed to world conquest, the United States was a reluctant responder to an international menace and the cold war was fundamentally a contest over freedom and self-determination.

Against this dreary ideological landscape, it is a relief to discover *America's Half-Century*, Thomas McCormick's critical study of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. This incisive, eminently readable book makes outstanding use of the existing revisionist literature while offering a fresh perspective on many vital questions. The work is the most fundamental challenge so far to the newly invigorated official history, and by its sharp argumentation reopens the possibility of serious debate.

McCormick's special contribution is to apply the insights of Immanuel Wallerstein's "world-systems" theory to the evolution of American diplomacy. To analyze the U.S. role, the author emphasizes the concept of hegemony, the ability of a single capitalist nation to exercise "such predominant influence in economic power, military might, and political-ideological leadership, that no other power, or combination of powers can prevail against it." Only twice in modern history has a country clearly achieved this—Britain in the nineteenth century and the United States after World War II.

Through the attainment of hegemony, the capitalist nation-state is able to resolve the tension between the "internationalist imperatives" of capitalism and the "nationalist biases" of the state. In the postwar era an ascendant United States has used its power to create a unitary world economy consisting of "core," "peripheral" and "semi-peripheral" states. Each of these zones performs a specialized function within the larger system. Core nations own much of the high-tech, high-profit enterprises, peripheral nations engage in primary production of agricultural commodities and raw materials, while semi-peripheral

Carolyn Eisenberg is associate professor of history at Hofstra University. She is completing a book on U.S. policy and the division of Germany.

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states perform the intermediate functions of transport, local capital, mobilization and less profitable forms of manufacturing. The American task has been to integrate these areas, to force the free exchange of goods, capital and labor across national boundaries. Such fluidity has enabled a hegemonic United States to guarantee a high standard of living for its people and to maintain popular consent for its policies.

While the world system is clearly advantageous for the hegemon, its effect on other societies is more equivocal. Under conditions of economic growth, only certain countries and classes stand to benefit. In more stagnant periods, even core nations have difficulty competing in world markets, and they expose their less privileged groups to significant hardship. The liabilities are even more severe for peripheral and semi-peripheral states, whose relative weakness within the international division of labor subjects them to exploitation by core countries. One important consequence is that the United States has faced substantial resistance from industrial, semi-industrial and non-industrial societies in carrying out its program.

For McCormick, the central drama of the postwar era has been this struggle over economic integration. From that vantage point, the cold war appears as a significant but by no means decisive phenomenon. If not for nuclear weapons, it is even possible that the U.S.-Soviet contest might never have occurred.

Its Marxist trappings notwithstanding, Stalinist Russia represented a type of state capitalism in which an autocratic government assumed responsibility for capital accumulation and industrial development. At the end of World War II, the United States hoped to draw the U.S.S.R. into the world system, while the Soviet leadership considered joining. According to the author, what ruined the bargain was the American acquisition of a nuclear monopoly, which eliminated the incentive to accommodate Soviet security interests. As the U.S. government "upped the ante" on such crucial questions as the rehabilitation of Germany, access to the Middle East and the sharing of nuclear secrets, the U.S.S.R. quit the field.

From 1947 until now, the Soviet Union has stood outside the world system, an ever-present magnet for discontented countries. Through propaganda, economic aid and military might, the U.S.S.R. has sought to lure the nations of the core,

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periphery and semi-periphery from the American-directed international economy.

While striving to "contain" this limited Soviet challenge, U.S. policy-makers have not been entirely unhappy. From early in the game, they readily apprehended the uses of the Soviet Threat as a justification for profitable military spending and as a means of disciplining recalcitrant allies. Over a forty-year span they complacently fed the superpower competition while preserving their priority of economic integration.

By telling the story this way, McCormick reminds his readers of the unfashionable truths of our time: American domination of the postwar order, the weakness and conservatism of the Soviet Union, the gratuitousness of the nuclear arms race, the avoidable polarization of the European continent and the tragic narrowing of options for millions of residents of the "free world."

Some of this is familiar revisionist fare. Yet the material is presented in such a thoughtful, comprehensive and lucid fashion that it provokes new reflection. Further, by drawing upon world-systems theory, McCormick is able to solve certain problems that have dogged radical scholarship. The framework allows him to give analytic weight to America's global mission and to view U.S. interventions abroad as something more than patrolling actions for America's capitalists. It also enables him to recognize the democratic basis for an expansionist foreign policy, and to chart the accommodation of diverse domestic constituencies within the United States.

Despite these considerable strengths, *America's Half-Century* suffers from a disturbing infusion of economic determinism. This tendency is unexpected, since it is evident from early in the book that McCormick is trying to avoid precisely this sort of rigidity. By emphasizing both the "nationalist biases" of the state and the "internationalist imperatives of capital," he suggests a complex interaction between territorial and economic requirements. Yet in his discussion of specific American policies, the nationalist component seems to evaporate.

As portrayed by McCormick, American decision makers are sophisticated people who think self-consciously about the needs of a system rather than of a particular social class. If necessary, they will sacrifice immediate considerations of profit in order to conciliate vital foreign and domestic interests. These qualifications notwithstanding, what ultimately drives this elite is the desire to maximize the prerogatives of American capital, a commitment that far outstrips any other observable goal. Even their strategic retreats have an economic character. If they modify their agenda, it is to permit a wider distribution of material rewards to noncapitalist groups. Thus the achievement of prosperity has been the main mechanism for insuring popular support of American globalism.

Yet it is reasonable to ask whether the exclusive or even primary significance of nationalism is the pressure to create wealth for the society as a whole. Or does the fact of nationhood generate other international functions for the state? McCormick appears to acknowledge that the state has broader tasks. He regularly alludes to strategic, ideological and even domestic political concerns. However, on closer examination his concrete cases have a way of turning into economic phenomena. More often than not, military bases exist to protect investments, democratic rhetoric cloaks opposition to nationalization and intrusive legislators are watching out for parochial business interests back home. More crucially, the author does not clearly identify any distinctively national purpose that reshapes or consistently influences the economic activities of the state.

By minimizing the impact of nationalism, McCormick ends up underestimating (or at least understating) the most dreadful features of the cold war. In his narrative, the superpower competition was rarely dangerous, and on the American side was partially hype. This skeptical outlook is most apparent in his treatment of the nuclear arms race. Whether engaged in a missile buildup or in quest of arms control, U.S. policy-makers do not seem especially concerned about the annihilation of the United States, nor do they intend to incinerate anyone else. Their preoccupation is the preservation of the world system. Hence, their nuclear decisions express a desire to lock in the periphery and semi-periphery, prevent defections from the core and discourage external empires (the U.S.S.R. and, for a time, China) from sucking nations out of the international economy.

These elements have surely fueled the nuclear arms race, but as part of a grimmer reality, which McCormick unfortunately neglects. In its most durable form the cold war became a death-dealing struggle between two great countries, which were organized to destroy each other at the risk of obliterating the world. Social and economic divergencies were assimilated into a wider contest for national survival, which, despite its suicidal aspects, no American leader had the wits to unravel. That the Soviet Union may now have resigned from the fray is no reason to forget this duel at the precipice, especially since thousands of apocalyptic weapons remain in place.

Nor should we discount the ways in which other countries were shattered by the superpower battle. The obvious example is Vietnam. As described by McCormick, Indochina was part of the "rimland" area, which Americans wished to secure for the French and subsequently the Japanese—a necessary periphery for our friends in the core. Such integrationist concerns were surely important. But U.S. policy-makers were also worried about the expansion of a Sino-Soviet bloc, which they viewed as threatening to the physical safety of the United States. In weighing these elements, it is relevant to ask whether American leaders would have dispatched half a million troops to Asia to procure markets and raw materials for other core countries. Even allowing for the incremental character of U.S. decisions, the disproportion between ends and means commands our attention. To put the question in its starkest form, if there had been no cold war, would the United States have paid such an extraordinary price for keeping Vietnam in the world system?

As we move into a new phase of international relations, we need to remember how catastrophic the cold war really was. This is important because the dynamics on the American side remain unchanged. Thus, despite its loss of economic supremacy and now the abdication of the main enemy, the United States retains its hegemonic will. Indeed, the efforts of the

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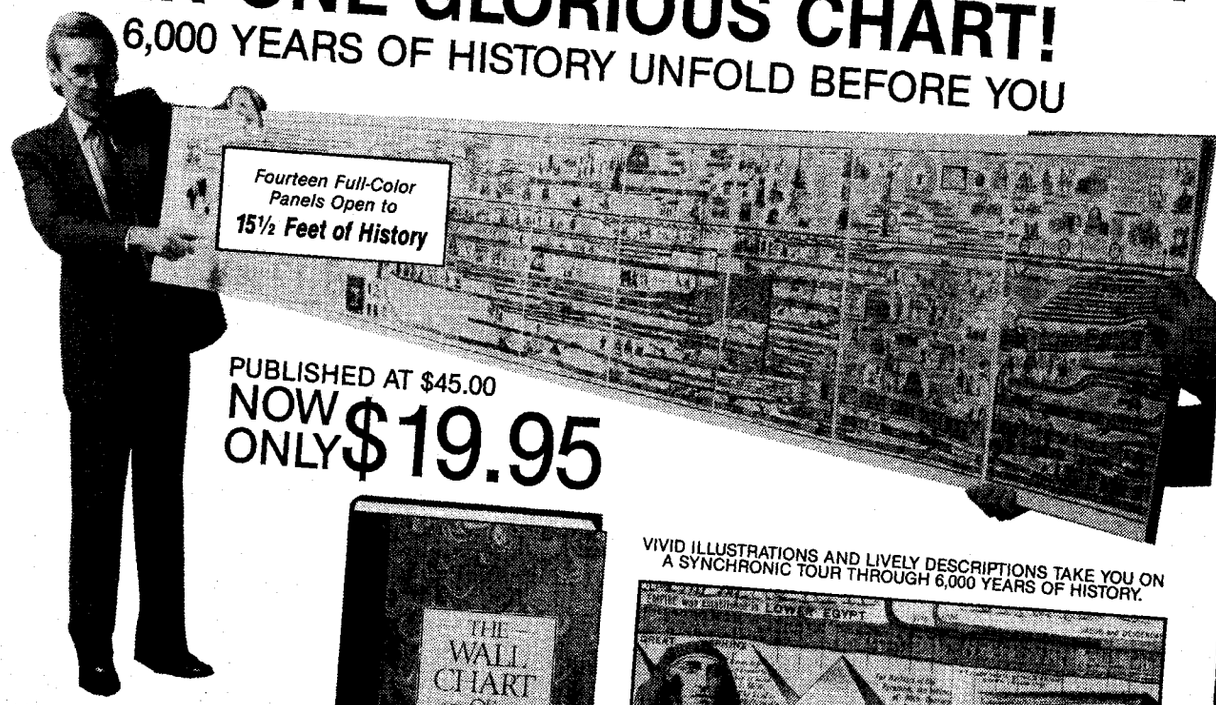

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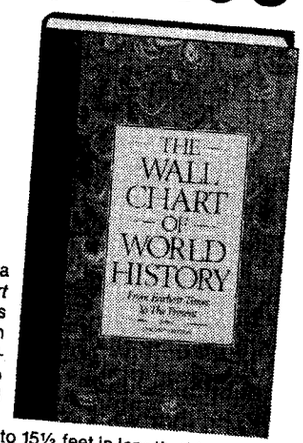

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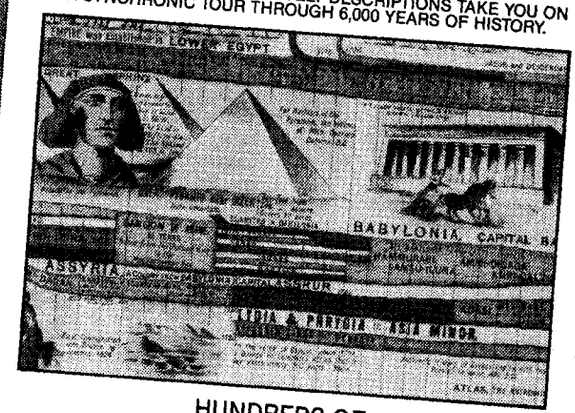

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The Un-Victorian

JOAN JACOBS BRUMBERG

QUEEN VICTORIA: The Woman, the Monarchy, the People. *By Dorothy Thompson. Pantheon. 192 pp. $18.95.*

"I was brought up to work jolly hard," declaimed British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1983. "We were taught to live within our means, that cleanliness was next to godliness. We were taught self-respect . . . [and] tremendous pride in our country. All those are Victorian virtues." Because of the persistent invocation of Queen Victoria by British conservatives, I approached this book with genuine curiosity. What would Dorothy Thompson—a radical historian and lecturer at the University of Birmingham, author of *The Chartists* (1984) and wife of E.P. Thompson, the famed interpreter of the English working class—have to say about a woman whose personal and public life have come to epitomize all that is prudish, rigid and reactionary?

A dedication to her great-grandmother, Anne Coleman, born in 1837—the year of Victoria's accession to the throne—serves as an early warning that Thompson will not provide any romantic tribute. Anne was the daughter of East London silk weavers and, like Victoria, she was widowed in her early 40s. But she brought up and educated her children by the sweat of her brow. Offered as a point of contrast, this snapshot biography frames the subject in terms of class privilege and sets the stage for a provocative analysis of the life and impact of the woman whose name came to be synonymous with an era, if not a way of life.

By the author's own admission, this is a work of "reinterpretation rather than new research." Thompson acknowledges her debt to the earlier (now canonical) biographies by Lytton Strachey and Elizabeth Longford, as well as to the scholarship of a younger generation of social historians of the Victorian milieu. What makes this book noteworthy and also good to read is Thompson's straightforward, unpretentious style and her critical focus on the ways in which Victoria's gender shaped the status of the throne and, ultimately, nineteenth-century British politics.

According to Thompson, the fact that Victoria was a woman contributed to the long-term stability of the English monarchy. She was intensely popular when she came to the throne. Young and chaste, the "Girl Queen" was a symbol of hope because she was decidedly different from her predecessors, her "wicked" Hanoverian uncles. "Coming after an imbecile, a profligate, and a buffoon . . . she had much in her favor," writes Thompson. A hereditary female monarch seemed like less of a threat precisely because she was expected to be, by nature, more malleable, more disinterested and more amenable to constitutional control. In addition, the accession of "Little Vic" evoked associations with the "Golden Age" of Elizabeth I and the victory of parliamentary government and Protestant theology.

There was still plenty of animated and nasty antimonarchical sentiment, but it focused on the high cost of supporting the royals and on Victoria's fecundity. With her beloved Albert, the Prince Consort, Victoria produced nine children within seventeen years, an accomplishment that made the royal brood into a national symbol of growth and stability but also required ample public funds. In the 1860s, as a widow, Victoria also elicited public dissatisfaction. Draped in black veils, surrounded by relics of Albert and avoiding all public functions, she was seen, in her withdrawal from public life, as an indication of the unsuitability of a woman for the throne.

But, on the whole, Victoria's gender worked in her favor to blunt serious radical challenges. Thompson asserts that in turbulent nineteenth-century Britain, republican movements such as the Chartists seldom called for the elimination of the monarchy. Although radicals regarded the throne as an expensive, vulgar and marginal institution, the British public generally held that it was bad form to offer public criticism of a female, particularly a wife and mother whose sense of duty was exemplary. The continuing saga of royal events—weddings, births and christenings—kept Victoria the matron in the public eye while it obscured her intense interest and involvement in political affairs. Thompson suggests that Victoria's "handlers," notably Benjamin Disraeli, deliberately kept her gender paramount and engineered her emergence as a "royal mother figure" for Britain and the empire. Among the many fascinating historical cartoons in this book are those that show how images of the empire were linked to femininity and womanliness. The historical irony is obvious: The British throne was feminized at the same time that women were increasingly discouraged from participation in public life.

It should come as no surprise that Victoria was neither a feminist nor a democrat. She regarded wifehood and motherhood as the natural order of things, consistently sought masculine support for her actions and decisions, concealed her lively interest in politics and after Albert's death refused to wear the robes of state on her own ever again. And, although the legal rights of women improved during her reign, she had nothing to do with this progress. In fact, Victoria gave no support at all to the aspirations of the emerging women's movement, took little interest in expanding women's educational or political opportunities and was openly hostile to women physicians.

Throughout her life, Victoria maintained a firm belief in the propriety of class divisions in society and her own (and her family's) divinely ordered place in the hierarchy. Although she came to the throne as "queen of the Whigs," she developed a preference for the Tories as her reign progressed. Thompson is fair-minded in her evaluation of Victoria's politics, pointing out that the Queen named the first Jewish peer and also lacked the worst racial prejudices of those who surrounded her. "She was neither as philistine, religiose, or snobbish as very many of her middle-class subjects," Thompson indicates. Still, it seems odd to have a historian on the left argue for a more sensitive, complex reading of a Queen who had no particular affinity for any of the great reform movements of the day and whose most famous statement—"We are not amused"—does not warm the heart. The personal was political in Victoria's case: She continued to eat from gold plates at a time when many starved.

For Thatcher and others with invest-

Joan Jacobs Brumberg, author of Fasting Girls: The History of Anorexia Nervosa *(New American Library), teaches women's history at Cornell University.*

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ments in the idea of Victoria's irreproachable personal behavior, Thompson's cruelest cut is her assertion that after Albert's death the Queen had an "essentially connubial" relationship with the Scotsman John Brown, a servant who was part of the royal household during Albert's lifetime. Brown was a large, handsome, fair-haired man who became a constant companion of the widowed Queen at her beloved Balmoral and her other residences. Together they shared a love of good whiskey and the beauty of the Scottish Highlands; they reportedly spoke to each other in familiar and affectionate terms. Victoria's fondness for the former Highland ghillie did not go unnoticed in her lifetime. Court scuttlebutt referred to Brown as "the Queen's stallion" and numerous popular ballads of the day identified the Queen as "Mrs. Brown," while rumors circulated that there had been an informal marriage and yet another child, "a thumping Scottish laddie."

Thompson's case for a sexual and emotional liaison between the Queen and her serving man rests on her interpretation of Victoria's behavior at the time of their deaths, Brown's in 1883 and Victoria's in 1901. Plunged into misery by Brown's sudden demise, the Queen responded in the same way that she did when Albert died. Brown was accorded a funeral appropriate for a senior statesman, after which she had a life-size statue of him placed in the garden where they had spent many hours together. Her advisers found her disconsolate and interested only in perpetuating his memory. To palace servants and court officials, she distributed brooches and tiepins bearing his image and her own monogram while busts of the deceased were sent to each of the royal residences. Victoria's plans to compose a memoir of Brown and publish his diaries were considered unwise by her advisers. Eventually they prevailed and both texts were burned, but no one could take away the private forms of her grief. Until the end of her life, her luncheon table was adorned with two small salt cellars Brown had given her and a fresh flower was placed daily on the pillow of his room at Balmoral. And when she died, Victoria left explicit orders that a photo of Brown and a lock of his hair be placed in her hand after the royal family had said their final farewells. (Family items of sentimental importance—such as Albert's dressing gown and photographs of her children—lay beneath her in the coffin, covered by a quilt.)

The argument against Victoria's affair with Brown is usually made on the grounds that such a liaison was inconsistent with the Queen's character and that the openness of her feeling for Brown was itself proof of the innocence of the relationship. For Thompson, however, sexuality is not necessarily a breach of character, nor is lack of guilt "an indication of the spirituality of the connection." In Thompson's hands, the Queen's relationship with Brown emerges as decidedly human and "un-Victorian": It began with a lusty infatuation and mellowed into companionship. Yet in her lifetime, and even today, Victoria is not allowed this breach of decorum. "What the Brown affair does illustrate," writes Thompson, "is the double standards required of male and female public figures as well as the extent to which the queen was prepared to re-write the rules of conduct and social precedence when it suited her." Thompson portrays Victoria as a lusty woman who did not deny herself the pleasures of the flesh. When told, after the birth of her daughter Beatrice, that she should have no more children, the Queen allegedly exclaimed, "Oh doctor, can I have no more fun in bed?"

It would cheapen Thompson's reading of Victoria to say that sex is the centerpiece of her argument. And yet, it is not altogether inappropriate to put the issue of female sexuality in the foreground of any revisionist or feminist history of Victoria and the Victorians. It is in the best interests of conservative politics, both here and across the Atlantic, to perpetuate the mythology of a stable and monolithic form of Victorian life in which female sexuality is constrained. In considering all the ways in which the politics of gender shaped Britain as well as the Queen's own desire, Dorothy Thompson effectively challenges the moral certainty that usually surrounds invocations of the imperious and dour little Queen. □

EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 294*)

of the Palestinian dimension of the conflict is so impoverished, its terms so racist and negative, that unless there are changes in that discussion nothing will happen. What is needed is a broad campaign *opposing* U.S. policy in the Middle East, and for that a real coalition that would include elements of the antiapartheid, anti-imperialist and antiwar movements in this country in alliance with anti-occupation Palestinians and Jews is absolutely necessary. *Edward W. Said*

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SEGAL REPLIES

Washington

Edward Said stresses the need to change the "broad public discussion of the Palestinian dimension of the conflict," and, while I do not disagree, I would formulate the problem of influencing U.S. policy quite differently. Both in the U.S. Jewish community and certainly among the larger public, there is a substantial body of opinion that shares the common ground of the four letter writers and myself. But here in Washington we are in an uphill struggle merely to get Congress to express its view that Israel should reopen the West Bank universities, and we probably lack the ability to get Congress to urge that Israel stop providing housing subsidies to Israeli Jews who move into the occupied territories. Thus, there is an extraordinary gap between public opinion and political influence.

I am in strong agreement with Jim Zogby that Congress matters and that the power of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (Aipac) and the so-called "pro-Israel" PACs is at the heart of the problem. But their power does not emerge so much from the fear they may engender as from the almost total absence of countervailing forces—lobbies and political activists on the other side.

A year ago I founded the Jewish Peace Lobby not so much to change opinion in the Jewish community but to mobilize, to bring to political relevance, the significant body of opinion that already exists. This is the central task: to build politically relevant organizational structures, a goal shared by Jewish and Arab-American peace activists. In the past two years, getting into mainstream politics has been high on the agenda for many of us.

The problem, however, is that while we are making progress, it is far too slow. One particular problem is the lack of an ethos of political responsibility, an ethos that requires political participation. Consider: *The Nation* has 90,000 subscribers, double the number of Aipac members. Recently the Jewish Peace Lobby wrote to 6,000 of those subscribers seeking to engage them in a grass-roots lobbying framework. We have learned not to expect much more than a 1 percent return—60 out of 6,000 people, most of whom essentially share our outlook. But the vast majority of those who recognize the need to put counter-pressure on Congress seem unwilling to give time or money to make it happen.

So it's not easy. What lies before us is the hard and unglamorous work of building politically effective organizations. Arab-American and Jewish communities have both established an organizational base. Our strengths lie in the underlying moral and intellectual soundness of our position, in vastly increased public awareness and in our broad agreement on what needs to be done.

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SM, 58, ALMOST LONELY, slightly eccentric, very curious, totally left. Looking for nonsmoking partner—woman. Box 1215, Topanga, CA 90290.

BiWJM, WARM, SINCERE, healthy, age 56, seeks GM for friendship, leading to monogamous, sensitive, caring relationship, perhaps where we can work and play together. Be bright, sincere, stable, healthy and over 28. Letter and phone to: Nation Box 649.

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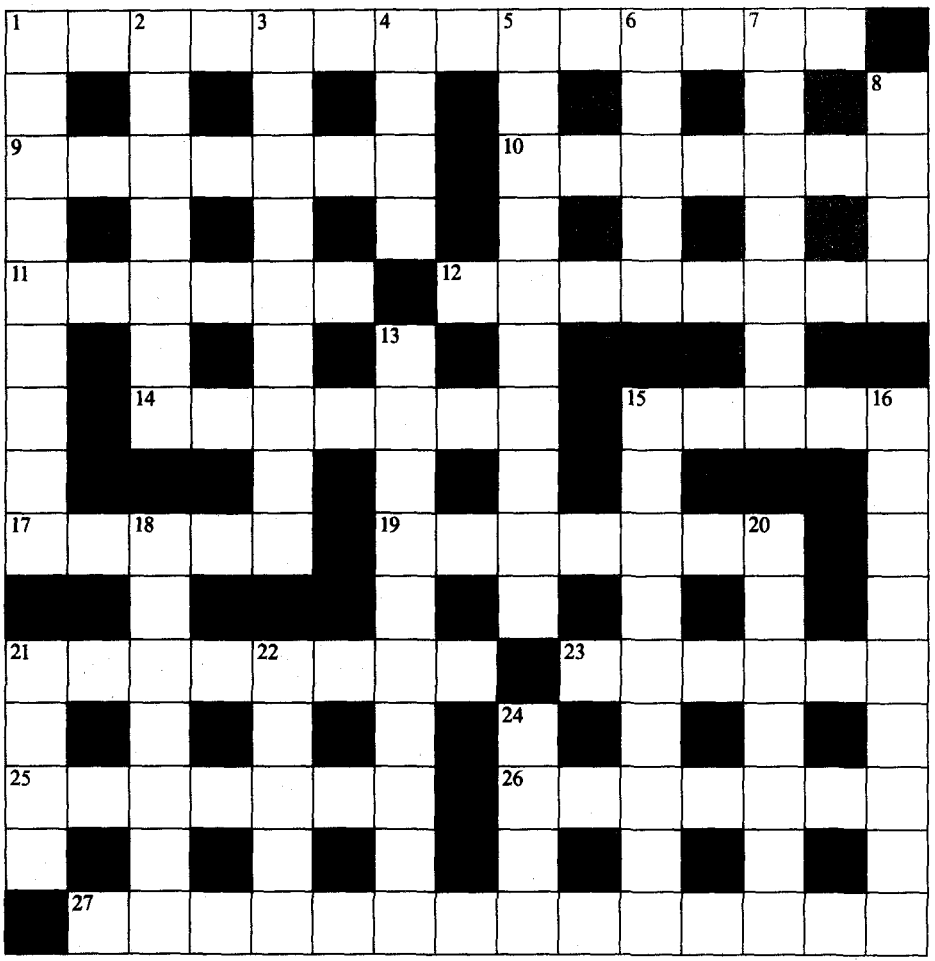

ACROSS

1 A London lawyer might be if phoned while in the pub. (6,2,3, 3)
9 A riptide on the French sea? (A scout's badge might logically be.) (7)
10 In the summer, it really shows land they fought over! (7)
11 and 12 Tired with what they used to say they got a dollar for? Some accept things this way. (3,2,1,4,4)
14 Briefly, this is what the solver should put. (2,1,4)
15 With one version of the dish coming up, I laughingly display it. (5)
17 What they counted around the first of April this year? (5)
19 Roberta said they did it to me, which made me laugh! (A short comparison holds a good laugh when given food.) (7)
21 Proving one member in a roster is a worry-wart—and poisons apples with fog! (8)
23 and 24 down For hangers-on, a very quiet demise takes time, which is what applicants do when they add on birthdays. (10)
25 What one hangs clothes on takes years to reveal one's background! (7)
26 The trouble with postage is reminiscent of a police state! (7)
27 Some pains around the sick? Take care, but don't finish off the supposedly vulnerable spot. (8,6)

DOWN

1 and 21 down Your friend is evidently competent and easy to get along with. (14)
2 Accumulated knowledge with flower chains might have a sirenlike quality. (7)
3 They wanted to do "The Breakaway"—not exactly saints, one found! (9)
4 A little trouble on your list of things you want to accomplish? (2-2)
5 Certainly not Easy Street! (No short-cuts here!) (3,4,3)
6 Livers afterward, evidently, are bad. (5)
7 One gets a lift from it, but it could be only fair with a petroleum product. (7)
8 and 16 down What people do when the elevator isn't running or they are restless. (4,2,3,4)
13 What Triton might have blown. (5,5)
15 Sort of a step up around a very loud indication of what the dessert chef uses. (4,5)
16 See 8
18 Crazy antics around an indefinite number—rather tinny. (7)
20 Hear incorrectly? Behaved about like a stubborn competitor. (3-4)
21 See 1 down
22 Being in form, I am in a Florida spot, naturally. (5)
24 See 23 across

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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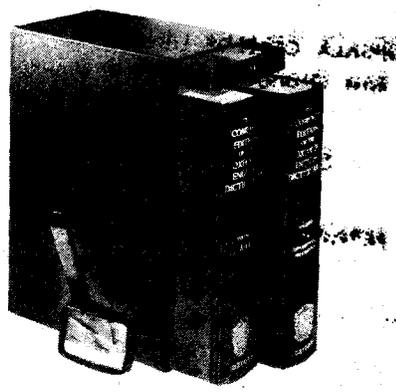

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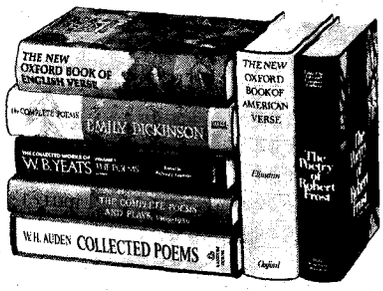
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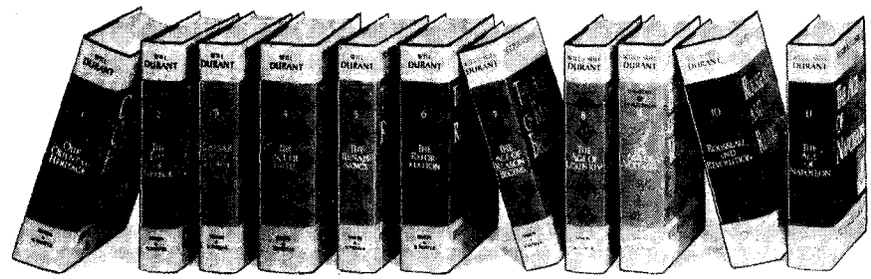

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